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A Message from the President

It is a distinct pleasure to introduce another excellent volume of *Slovakia*, a scholarly annual of the Slovak League of America, an organization founded in Cleveland in 1907 as the voice of most Slovak-American fraternals. Since its creation in 1951 by the late Philip Hrobak, editor of *Jednota* and President of the Slovak League of America, *Slovakia* has presented to the English-speaking world the often-neglected history and culture of one of Europe's oldest nations.

This 1985-1986 double issue offers the reader the opportunity to gain yet another glimpse of the life of the Slovaks, both at home and in diaspora. It honors the centennial of the Slovak press in America because our first newspaper arose in Pittsburgh in 1885. The 220 newspapers that followed (listed as they appeared each year by our editor, Dr. Stolarik), testify to the vibrant and important chapter that the Slovak-American press played in the life of the Slovak nation. In diaspora the aspirations and ideals of the Slovaks received the necessary spark to ignite a movement for self-determination, the likes of which had not been seen for a thousand years.

It is providential that in 1987 we celebrate the bicentennial of the United States Constitution. This document has had a far-reaching impact on countries and peoples all over the world. In many ways the Constitution legitimized revolutions which brought freedom to numerous nations in various parts of the world. The Slovaks, too, learned from this document that they also had the right to seek their just and God-given rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They were inspired by this document to seek for their brothers and sisters in Slovakia the same freedom which belongs to all peoples.

In conclusion, the Slovak League of America is pleased to publish such a wonderful volume of history and culture in the hope that Slovaks and non-Slovaks, free or not, may learn something of the rich heritage and culture of Slovakia and how its people contributed to the American cultural mosaic.

DANIEL F. TANZONE, President
Slovak League of America

HISTORY

Štefan Osuský's Attempts to Establish Contacts with Slovakia in 1939: A Personal Memoir

JOSEPH STASKO

The following is the recollection of my experiences as a young Slovak student in Paris during the critical years 1938-1939. Although this "first person narrative" is necessarily somewhat colored by subjective impressions, it should nonetheless shed light on some hitherto undiscovered and/or unanalyzed information relating to events and personalities of the period.¹

On the international scene, Hitler's daring diplomatic moves, combined with military pressure, brought about not only the Munich Agreement (September 29/30, 1938) but also the resignation of President Edvard Beneš (October 5, 1938), followed by the Žilina Agreement (October 6, 1938), by virtue of which the Slovaks achieved political autonomy. For me, as a politically active federalist (autonomist), the Žilina Agreement represented the fulfillment of the Slovak political struggle, the federation of Czecho-Slovakia. In the second half of October, 1938, I returned to Slovakia to witness the implementation of Slovak autonomy.

The new autonomous government of Slovakia had commenced with enthusiasm, national pride, and hope. This euphoric atmosphere, however, did not last for long. The loss of a large part of Slovak territory to Hungary by the Vienna Award of November 2, 1938 was a tragic blow to the promising beginnings of Slovak self-rule. The overall mood in Slovakia was overshadowed by national grief, anger, and a feeling of powerlessness.

In the official circles of the Slovak government and among the general public there was no serious talk of separating Slovakia from the Czech lands. Both the government and judicial public viewed the Munich Agreement and the Vienna Award as diplomatic safeguards against Hitler's further penetration in Central Europe and also as an international guaranty against Hungarian territorial rapacity. There were, however, radical elements grouped around Alexander Mach, Karol Murgaš, Jozef Joštiak, Ján Farkaš, and Ján Dafčík who fomented anti-Czech feeling by ascribing the loss of Slovak territory to Beneš and his policy toward Slovakia.

In November, 1938, I returned to France convinced that the Slovaks considered their autonomy the satisfactory solution of their national and political interests. Before I left I was offered the assignment of foreign correspondent for the newspapers *Slovák* and *Slovenská pravda*, which I gladly accepted.

By the end of November the Czechoslovak ambassador in France, Dr. Štefan Osuský, was returning to Paris from his visit to the newly-elected president of Czecho-Slovakia, Dr. Emil Hácha and to the new foreign minister, Dr. Frantisek Chvalkovský. As a foreign correspondent for the newspaper *Slovák*, I asked Osuský for an interview regarding his impressions of Czecho-Slovakia. Prior to the interview, he gave me a copy of his *aide-mémoire* submitted to the French Foreign Office as a supplement to his official report. The main topics, as I recall, were descriptions of his audiences with President Hácha and Foreign Minister Chvalkovský and of the apathy of the Czech people toward the latest tragic dismemberment of Bohemia in the Munich Agreement. Included in it was also a statement concerning the Slovak autonomous government's assurances of its wholehearted support for the Czecho-Slovak state. In my subsequent interview with Osuský he maintained that the French government had pledged to guarantee the security of the new Czecho-Slovakia. This part of the interview was later published in the newspaper *Slovák*.

After this interview with Osuský, my contacts with him became more frequent and proved to be very useful to me as a student and as a journalist. He encouraged me to study the question of minorities in Central Europe, offered me access to the embassy's library, and invited me to the "five o'clock tea" on a

regular weekly basis. He also arranged for me contacts with the Havas Press Agency, as well as with the newspaper *Époque*, *L'Oeuvre*, and *Le Temps*.²

In December, 1938, I was back in Slovakia on a journalistic assignment from Osuský to report on the Slovak parliamentary elections, held on December 18, 1938. After the opening of the first session of the new Slovak Parliament on January 19, 1939, I returned the next day to France.

At one of our "five o'clock tea" meetings, Osuský explained his political views not only on international questions but on the internal problems of Czecho-Slovakia as well. He told me that although his position as the envoy of Czecho-Slovakia in Paris precluded his interference in the internal affairs of the state, he kept close contacts with many prominent politicians and expressed his political views freely. However, since he was unable to make public his own views, he suggested that I should try to put them in writing. I interpreted this as a mandate and asked him to set up dates for interviews on his position regarding political developments in Europe with a special focus on Central Europe and Czecho-Slovakia. On the basis of these interviews I submitted to him in February, 1939, a draft of "Dr. Osuský's Views and Opinions on the European Crisis." He approved my draft and asked me to supplement it with philosophical statements from his acceptance speech, delivered on February 5, 1936, on the occasion of his receipt of an honorary doctorate in law at the University of Dijon. I complied with his request. The resulting paper was reproduced for his Slovak friends; later a part of it was included in his booklet *Česko-Slovensko a jeho budúcnosť*, which appeared in 1939.

After the crisis of March, 1939, Osuský was looked upon as the only representative of Czecho-Slovakia in the free world who could claim the authority of a co-founder of the state. Following his refusal to deliver the Czecho-Slovak embassy in Paris to the Germans, he espoused the so-called ambassadorial theory of continuity, according to which he was the only legal representative of Czechoslovakia. Osuský's theory conflicted with the "presidential theory of continuity" of Beneš, who considered himself the victim of Hitler's brutality and the sacrificial lamb of

the military and psychological weakness of France and Great Britain. The French government confirmed Osuský's legal status and continued to recognize him as the diplomatic representative of Post-Munich Czechoslovakia. Osuský felt himself destined for the leading role in the resistance against Hitler.

At this historical juncture, however, Osuský found himself isolated, without trustworthy collaborators at the embassy and with no close connections with the Slovaks and their organizations in France. His relations with his Slovak countrymen in France were sparse and those with the Czechs lacked mutual trust. The only employee at the embassy who devotedly served Osuský was Štefan Monček, the treasurer. Other Slovaks at the embassy — Dr. Vladimir Palic, Dr. Alexander Kúnoši, and later Dr. Fedor Hodža — either stayed there for only a short time or tendered their allegiance to others. All other personnel at the embassy espoused Beneš' views and conspired against Osuský. This politically precarious situation necessitated an immediate remedy in two directions: Osuský's relations with the Slovaks and their organizations in France; and the reshaping of his staff at the embassy.

In the first half of April, 1939, Osuský inquired about my connections with Slovak organizations in France and in Slovakia. He needed broader support for his leadership. For this purpose he planned to secure the confidence of his Slovak co-nationals in France. In order to improve his image as the representative, not only of the Czechs, but also of the Slovaks (who now lived in the Slovak state), he intended to attract political friends from Slovakia.

To help carry out the first part of his plan I offered my assistance in arranging a gathering of Slovaks in Argenteuil, near Paris. There Osuský would deliver his first campaign speech on political issues in general and on Czech-Slovak relations in particular. The timing was opportune. After March 14, 1939, the majority of Slovaks in France, who expressed their trust in Prime Minister Jozef Tiso's government, were denounced by the Czechs as traitors and as such were reported to the French authorities who then persecuted them as pro-Nazis. The presence of Ambassador Osuský at the gathering was an occasion to present Slovak complaints to him and to ask for protection.

The gathering of French Slovaks took place in April, 1939, and was quite successful. Osuský's speech was reproduced in special leaflets, and parts were published in his *Česko-Slovensko a jeho budúcnost'*. On the whole, Osuský's address was favorably accepted by the Slovaks, especially his promise to protect those Slovaks who did not spread anti-French or anti-Czech propaganda.³

The daily influx into France of Czech political and military emigrants caused Osuský much concern because practically all of them supported Beneš. This may have been one of the main reasons why he entrusted me with a secret mission to visit Slovakia to contact his friends, former political leaders, many government officials, and leading personalities in the cultural and economic life of the Slovak state. Osuský indicated that he would like me to bring personal messages to some of his friends and inquire into the possibility of having contacts with them through Budapest. He also suggested that I travel to Hungary to survey the situation of the Slovaks in occupied Southern Slovakia and contact their leaders. I accepted this mission as a sign of personal trust and asked for a few days to prepare a more detailed program for his approval. At the outset of our discussion Osuský had pointed out that this trip was supposed to appear as if it were my own undertaking, but he promised to inform the French authorities of my status and procure a diplomatic visa for me. He did so promptly.

Among the persons I was to see and deliver messages to were: Dr. Anton Štefánek, Professor at the University of Bratislava; General Rudolf Viest, Inspector-General of the Slovak Army; Dr. Samuel Osuský, Lutheran Bishop and cousin of Osuský; Lutheran Bishop Fedor Ruppeldt; Dr. Matej Murtin at the Hypotečná a komunálna banka in Bratislava; the lawyer Dr. Ivan Pietor; economists Dr. Peter Zat'ko and Dr. Vladimír Fajnor; and the General Director of the Slovenská národná banka, Dr. Imrich Karvaš. My assignment included also contacts with Dr. Miloš Vančo, Dr. Ján Spišiak, and Ján Teplánsky. Osuský explained his wish to build communications with Bratislava through a liaison in Budapest to be funded half by him and the other half by the Slovak side. As for possible discussions with government officials, I could act in my name only. Osuský's name could be mentioned in con-

nection with his warning about the risk of war and the need for the cooperation of Slovakia with the West. All other questions that Osuský gave me were for Prime Minister Tiso alone. Among them was the question of the Slovaks in France and their eventual mobilization in case of war in military units of a Czechoslovak Army. Another question of importance for both Slovakia and Osuský was the establishing of Slovak diplomatic missions in the West equipped with proper personalities and far-reaching political perspectives. He suggested also that I discuss some matters with Foreign Minister Ferdinand Ďurčanský.

Before I left France on April 27, 1939, I helped to organize the participation of Slovaks at the Second Reunion of the Czechs and Slovaks in France, which was planned for April 29-30 at the Czechoslovak Colony in Paris. Beneš's adherents planned to declare him the leader of the "Second Czechoslovak Struggle Abroad," thus eliminating Osuský for good from any leading role in the exile movement. The outcome of that meeting was transmitted to me in Bratislava by Štefan Monček, who had been given my telephone number. This information was important to my mission because success depended on Osuský's retention of his leadership position abroad.

In Bratislava I met freely with my friends and colleagues. Some of them already held high state offices and enjoyed their positions in the full swing of their zeal, devotion, and industry. They seemed to be unaware of the danger of war and believed that their happy days would have no end. To my surprise, some of them thought that Hitler was satisfied with his annexations and that the risk of war had been thus eliminated. This naive credulity was confirmed by my visits with Propaganda Chief Šaňo Mach, the Hlinka Guard leaders Karol Murgaš and Ján Dafčík, and the majority of my own friends. The glorification of Hitler by Dr. Vojtech Tuka in his May 1, 1939, speech at Primizial Plaza in Bratislava was an ominous sign, as was the elimination of Karol Sidor from Slovak political affairs.

The next day I was granted an audience with Prime Minister Tiso. It was arranged through Dr. Juraj Rajec, whom I knew when he was the educational counselor in the student residence Svoradov. I was admitted to Tiso as a reporter for the newspaper *Slovak* in France.

Sitting in the corner of his office, overlooking the Danube, Tiso looked tired and somewhat restrained. He asked me about my studies and my journalistic experience in France. After I answered those questions I described the difficult position of the Slovaks in France as outlined earlier. This led me to Ambassador Osuský and his activities. I reported to Tiso the full details of Osuský's speech in Argenteuil, handed him the leaflets of the Center of the Czechs and Slovaks Abroad concerning recruitment in the event of war, and finally submitted to him the document "Dr. Osuský's Views and Opinions on the European Crisis." With regard to the possibility of war, I indicated that there were about 50,000 Slovaks in France who could be recruited into a Czechoslovak Army and who would have to fight against the Slovak state for Beneš' type of Czechoslovakia. I also told Tiso that Osuský favored a federated Czechoslovakia but faced the determined opposition of the Czechs and of some Slovak centralists, the so-called Czechoslovaks. Osuský had a few friends among the Czechs, and not many among the Slovaks. He was willing to set up separate Slovak military units in France, alongside the Czech ones, under a unified command, but there were no Slovak officers. Tiso listened to my briefing and then remarked that he did not consider Osuský to be the representative of the Slovak cause in the West because Osuský did not know Slovakia and the Slovaks did not know Osuský.

Next I inquired whether it was true that the situation of Slovakia after the Treaty of Protection with Germany, which had been characterized in France as total dependence upon Germany, was similar to the situation in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. He rose from his chair, approached the window facing the Danube, and asked me if I could see the cannons on the other side of the Danube, which were aimed directly at his windows. This "protection," he said, did not prevent the Slovaks from losing Petržalka (part of Bratislava), but it was still preferable to their being divided between the Magyars and the Poles.

To my query about the limits of Slovak freedom in making foreign contacts, he responded that the new government expected to be recognized by most European states very quickly. This would make it difficult for the Germans to interfere and would provide

a legal basis for foreign contacts. Ďurčanský would give me more details on this point. I was curious about relations with the Magyars, for I had heard that there was no reaction from the Slovak side to the atrocities committed by the Magyars in Komjatice, Slovenský Meder, and Šurany. Tiso replied that according to the Treaty of Protection with Germany, the Slovaks could not unilaterally decide on retaliatory measures against the Magyars in Slovakia; the Slovaks were thus denied the right of reprisal, he said. On the other hand, the Treaty provided for German protection of Slovak territory against constant Magyar incursions. And so the Slovak position toward Hungary was dictated by those factors.

I inquired if it would be possible to use the Slovaks in France for some kind of support of a Slovak cause in the West in the event of war. Tiso said that that was not an immediate worry. First France would have to recognize the Slovak State, after which there would be more time for such discussions. I told him that Osuský would have no objection to the French government granting the Slovak state *de facto* recognition. He saw such circumstances as being favorable for building a bridge between France and Slovakia, provided that the proper person were appointed as head of the Slovak consulate. Tiso indicated that I would receive the answer to this question from Ďurčanský. Tiso suggested publishing a Slovak-French bulletin in France and the possibility of a cultural exchange. He referred me to Dr. Vojtech Brestenský, Secretary General of Slovenská liga, who would take care of it.

In summarizing our discussion, Tiso reiterated his views, stressed the confidentiality of some of his remarks, and asked me about my immediate and future plans. I mentioned that I intended to visit Hungary to speak with Slovak representatives. He asked me if this had already been planned in Paris, which I affirmed. He concluded the interview with an invitation to contact him again before I left for France.

That same day, in the Café Carlton, I was introduced by Vlado Houdek to Peter Pares, the British consul in Bratislava. He expressed a keen interest in my studies in France and my evaluation of the French political scene. He was eager to see me the next day at the same place, and I gladly consented.

Later that day I was invited for dinner by Foreign Minister Ďurčanský at his private residence. To my surprise, he had already been informed of the issues discussed with the prime minister. Our friendly personal relations, based on close cooperation in the autonomist movement, allowed us to be absolutely frank with each other. After giving him an overall picture of French public opinion, I touched on the question of the Slovaks in France and also on Ambassador Osuský's actions. To this Ďurčanský added his brief analysis of the Slovak situation on the international level and outlined Slovak diplomatic ambitions. The discussion that followed could be summarized in the following points:

I said that according to what I knew from Osuský and from the Polish embassy in Paris, the French and the British were hurriedly mobilizing raw materials, increasing production of military hardware, building up public opinion against Hitler; in short they were preparing for war. In the diplomatic field, the French were repeating their pledges to stand by their treaties with Poland and Romania. Ďurčanský accepted the possibility of war but not earlier than in two years.

As for the Slovaks in France, I asked if it could not be possible to organize them into a Slovak Legion and have them fight against Hitler and for the preservation of the Slovak state. Osuský, I continued, was opposed to Beneš. He recognized a federated Czechoslovakia as the best form of government which would guarantee Slovak self-rule. Ďurčanský replied that he did not believe that France would agree on the formation of a Slovak Legion with the proviso that it fight for the preservation of the Slovak state. He, therefore, would accept the organization of Czech and Slovak military units under a unified command. This reasoning was parallel in general terms with that of Osuský's. One of the most difficult questions, however, was where to find and how to commission 20 to 30 Slovak officers for this duty. This would be a political question of unforeseeable complications.

According to Ďurčanský, this could be done under different pretexts, such as through a cultural delegation, correspondents, students, businessmen, and the like. Under the present conditions, two things were required immediately: official recognition of Slovakia by the French government and money. As for the first

condition, Ďurčanský said that he had been already told by the French consul that recognition was on its way. The question of money would be solved by creation of the Institute for Slovaks Abroad, which for the time being would be associated with the Foreign Ministry. The money could be put aside from the ministerial budget. To do so, it would be necessary to prepare the statutes of the proposed Institute. He instructed me to meet the next day with Dr. Jozef Cieker, Dr. Vojtech Brestenský, Emil Rusko, and their experts to prepare the final text of the statutes.

After Ďurčanský had read “Osuský’s Views and Opinions on the European Crisis” and gone through the material I had brought with me, he indicated that Osuský’s position might help the Slovak cause in the West if he would be willing to cooperate with the Slovak consul in Paris, using him as a liaison with Slovakia. I asked Ďurčanský if he already had in mind such a person for such a delicate mission; he mentioned the name of Ing. Milan Harminic.

More explicitly than Tiso, Ďurčanský gave me details regarding his dealings with the Germans. This I later put in writing and sent to Ambassador Osuský through the French consulate in Bratislava. From the organizational point of view, Ďurčanský considered the existing Catholic mission in France an excellent focus for rallying the Slovaks, not only on religious, but also on cultural and political grounds. He knew the Reverend Ján Futák, the Head of the mission, vaguely but expressed confidence in him. He promised to send money to France from the planned Institute to help publish a periodical bulletin in French and Slovak. As the editor he planned to appoint the Reverend Vojtech Klein, a Catholic priest known for his work in the social field and in the publishing trade.

Before taking leave of Ďurčanský I informed him of my trip to Hungary and asked for his advice as to whom I should contact and what concrete steps I should take to gather detailed information on the situation of the Slovaks there. He referred me to Dr. Ľudovít Obtulovič, a lawyer in Nové Zámky who was the leader of the Slovaks in the occupied territory of Southern Slovakia, and to the Reverend Imrich Kosec, a Catholic priest in the nearby village of Bánovská Kesa.

Ďurčanský planned to build a direct line of communication between Bratislava and Paris through an employee of the Slovak embassy in Budapest. During the discussion it became apparent to me that this communication was supposed to be rather a personal link between Ďurčanský and the Catholic mission in Argenteuil. Consequently, I did not mention at this point that Osuský too was looking for a liaison with Slovakia through a confidant in Budapest. While Ďurčanský hoped to build bridges to the West without the intermediary link of Osuský, the latter planned to use his contacts with Slovakia for bringing his political friends into exile.

Before I left for Hungary I learned that on May 4, 1939 Great Britain had extended *de facto* recognition to the Slovak state and had confirmed the present British consul in Bratislava, Pares, as its official representative. This greatly furthered Slovak self-confidence.

A special permit to cross the Slovak-Hungarian border was given to me at the Hungarian consulate in Bratislava at the recommendation of Monsignor Augustin Hladík, Canon of the Cathedral of St. Martin in Bratislava, with whom I had been in contact for some years. He also made the arrangement for my travel to Hungary by car with Count János Eszterházy, who was the official representative of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, in which capacity he was also a member of the Slovak Parliament.

My first stop was at Dr. Obtulovič's office in Nové Zámky. With Obtulovič we visited the Reverend Imrich Kosec in Bánovská Kesa and then traveled to Slovenský Meder and Komjatice; the next day we called on the Director of the Slovak *gymnázium*, Professor Jozef Hudec, and his colleague Professor Ignác Šafář in the town of Šurany. In all these villages I interviewed the Slovaks regarding the alleged atrocities committed by the Hungarian gendarmes against them for singing the Slovak national anthem and holding cultural meetings. After two days in Budapest, where I met with Professor Štefan Buran and others in the administration of *Slovenská jednota*, the Slovak newspaper which we wanted to become the journal of all Slovaks abroad and as such to be distributed also in France, I returned with Obtulovič to Bratislava.

I telephoned Ďurčanský to congratulate him on the British recognition of Slovakia. He sounded optimistic and explored possible ways to prompt the French government to recognize Slovakia as early as possible and thus establish legal contact with one more Western state. He invited Obtulovič and myself to see him the same day. At this meeting Ďurčanský suggested that Obtulovič go to Paris to investigate the possibility of obtaining early recognition of Slovakia and the accreditation of a Slovak consul in Paris. Through the intercession of Monček, for whom I had prepared a confidential personal note, Obtulovič was to see Osuský and discuss with him the following:

- 1) The legal position of the Slovaks in France then and in case of war. Would Slovaks in France be mobilized into a Czechoslovak Army, or would they be recruited under the banner of a Slovak Legion?
- 2) A Slovak consulate in Paris and its relations to Osuský.
- 3) Would Osuský agree to communicate with Slovakia through the Slovak consulate in Paris, or would he suggest some other manner?
- 4) Distribution of *Slovenská jednota* among the Slovaks in France and possible cooperation with the editors of *Slovenská jednota* in Budapest.
- 5) Publication of a Slovak-French Bulletin, by a neutral body, which could develop into a cultural and political organ for all Slovaks in France. For the time being it could be issued as a supplement to *(Náš) Kraj*, the organ of the Catholic mission in France.
- 6) Consider closer working relations between Osuský and the leadership of the Slovaks in Hungary. Obtulovič should propose to gather documentary material on the Hungarian-German secret alliance with subsequent reference to Hitler's consent of the occupation of Southern Slovakia by the Hungarians.

At this time I met with the British consul, Peter Pares, at the Hotel Carlton in Bratislava. I congratulated him on his confirmation as the British representative to the Slovak government. In response he mentioned that his French colleague had enjoyed very

much talking with me. I was really surprised how quickly news-gathering in Bratislava functioned, because I had hardly returned from the French consulate.⁴ The British rightly conjectured that my visit with Tiso and my trip to Hungary were somewhat connected with my mission from Osuský. He wanted to know more about these undertakings. Because of the risk involved. I remained cautious.

A few days later I was invited by Obtulovič to join a "fishing party" organized by him for Pares. This was a pleasant car trip from Bratislava to my native Orava and to Oravice, the region with brooks full of trout, a real haven for such a passionate fisherman as Pares. The three-day party was kept secret. We discussed mainly Slovak relations with the West. I was impressed by Pares' knowledge of the Slovak internal political scene. He showed a full understanding of the difficult international position of Slovakia and promised to keep his government informed about the real anti-Nazi feelings of the Slovaks. In his characterization of the leading Slovak politicians, he disapproved of Ďurčanský's precipitous acts and evident endeavors to prove the independence of Slovak diplomacy. On the other hand, Pares appreciated Tiso's policy and skill as shown in his dealings with internal as well as external affairs of state.

Two communications sent by Pares to his superiors in London indicate the British consul's acute perceptions of the situation at this time and are worth quoting.⁵ The first is a letter dated May 23, 1939 and reads as follows:

Dear Troutbeck,

Certain information has reached me from a reliable source which will, I think, interest you, but nevertheless, does not seem suitable for inclusion in a formal dispatch.

I have been told by Dr. Obtulovič, who apparently enjoys the confidence of Dr. Tiso, that the Slovak government is keeping in contact with the group of Slovak exiles in Paris who are led by Dr. Osuský. A young student named Josef Staško, who is studying at the École des Sciences Politiques, has recently been in Bratislava and had an interview with Dr. Tiso. He has now returned to Paris and I understand that he is a bearer of a message

from the Slovak government. My French colleague knows that the young man is in touch with Slovaks in Paris, but I doubt if he is aware of his connection with the Slovak government.

I understand that Dr. Tiso has given formal approval to the formation of a Slovak Legion in France and that this is the message conveyed by Staško to Paris.

The object of these maneuvers seems to be to maintain contact with the Western powers whilst pursuing a policy of co-operation with the Germans for as long as is necessary — in other words, the policy of the Czechs before and during the Great War. The Slovaks are growing very apprehensive now about the possibility of war. They do not expect Germany to win, but realize that they are powerless to refuse anything she might ask in the event of war. So they are trying to ensure the good will of the Western powers in advance by secretly approving the plans of the exiles.

That this is not a policy favoured by a small group, but rather the concerted action of the Slovak leaders as a whole is, I think, shown by the fact that the persons concerned in it are not only Dr. Tiso, but also Dr. Obtušovič, the official Slovak minority leader in Hungary, and the partisan of Sidor.

My knowledge of Slovak is not very reliable, but from something said in a convention at which I was present, I gained the impression that Dr. Ďurčanský, the pro-German Foreign Minister, also knows of Staško's mission. There have been reports that Ďurčanský is dissatisfied with Germany's treatment of Slovakia so it is possible that my impression may be correct.

Yours ever,
P. Pares

A few comments on Pares' report are in order. First, the French consul could not tell his British colleague the full story about my connection with the Slovak government because I was warned by Osuský that he was in the service of Beneš, and

therefore, there could have been a risk of political intrigue. Second, in my talks with Pares I never mentioned to him the essence of my discussion with Tiso, so I presume Obtulovič had informed him about it. It is also true that Tiso did not give formal approval to the formation of a Slovak Legion in France; but it had been my personal feeling that he considered the possibility of such a need later, and that is why he had referred me to Ďurčansky for more discussion about this matter.

The following telegram by the British consul in Bratislava to his superiors in London presumes a discrete and confidential discussion of Pares with Obtulovič and clearly confirms that the Paris-Bratislava connection was still alive. The two-hour conversation of Obtulovič with the French consul also suggests the importance of the issues discussed. Here is the full text of the telegram:

Telegram (en clair) from His Majesty's Consul
(Bratislava) 3rd June, 1939.

Dr. Obtulovič, who accompanied Staško to Paris (see my porvate [*sic*] letter to Mr. Troutbeck, dated 23rd May, a copy of which was sent to the Foreign Office under cover of my dispatch No. 39 of 23rd May) has just returned to Bratislava. He had an interview with Osuský, who appears to have succeeded in convincing him that the French treatment of Czecho-Slovakia last autumn was not a betrayal, but the result of the pressure of circumstances. Dr. Obtulovič seems to have returned a Francophil and his report will no doubt influence the Slovak Government in favour of the Western Powers. Osuský's arguments have also convinced him that Germany is not strong enough to break the forces confronting her and he is therefore concerned for the future of Slovakia in the event of a German collapse. He says that he is to return to Paris once more and will visit also Belgium. I presume that he will make contact with the Slovak colony in that country which is fairly numerous. Today he had a conversation lasting two hours with the French consul here, in the course of which it must be

assumed that he discussed the standpoint of the Slovak Government to the Slovak exiles in Paris.

Copy sent to Paris.

I have to add that Obtulovič traveled to Paris alone, because I still expected an audience with Prime Minister Tiso and a meeting with Foreign Minister Ďurčanský. It is not true that Obtulovič returned from Paris a Francophil, thanks to Osuský. Obtulovič was a Francophil before his trip. The same could be said about the statement that only Osuský's arguments had convinced Obtulovič of the possible German defeat. It was precisely this presumption of the Slovak government — that in the event of war, Germany would not win — which had prompted Obtulovič's trip to Paris. The plan was that Obtulovič would return to Paris and would visit his countrymen in Belgium. This did not take place, however, because the Germans took notice of his travels, tracked his whereabouts, and inquired about his motives at the Slovak Foreign Ministry. The details of the German intervention in this matter were sent to me by the Reverend Kosec at my address at the Slovak Catholic mission in Argenteuil. A few days later Obtulovič and Kosec were expelled from Hungary and returned to Bratislava.

Back in Bratislava, after the fishing trip, I contacted Dr. Anton Štefanek, for whom I had a letter and an oral message from Osuský. He seemed to have little confidence in Osuský and was totally dismayed by Beneš. Concerning the situation in Slovakia, it was his view that for the time being Slovakia was thriving and was much better off than the Czech lands. Of course, all this was relative to Hitler's plans. In the event of war, Slovakia would be eradicated as a state and much damage would be done to the nation. He confessed that he did not intend to go into exile and that he had no advice as to what course of action to take. He did not believe that the future form of life in Central Europe would be the same as before and stated that even Czechoslovakia would have to be restructured if it wished to survive. He asked me about Hodža, who he expected to come forward with his idea of a Central European Federation.

My message from Osuský concerned the possibility of a mutual exchange of reports on international and domestic developments. To this Štefánek did not react. He wanted me to meet his colleagues at the university, and he set up a date for this meeting in his office. As I recall, this took place two days later. At that meeting only four of these colleagues were present: Dr. Peter Gula, Dr. Branislav Varsík, Dr. Ján Stanislav, and Dr. J. K. (still living in Bratislava). The only positive suggestion made at that meeting was to organize an exchange of professors and students with France and then to create a clearing-house at the Institut Slave in Paris for Slovak literature. All those present considered the war inevitable; all believed that Hitler would not win; and all were willing to accept the Czecho-Slovak state only in a federal form. My report from this meeting was sent in a diplomatic pouch to Osuský through the French consulate.

Another letter and message I delivered was to General Rudolf Viest, who was Inspector-General of the Slovak Army. He asked me first for my credentials, then told me to see him the next day. At our subsequent meeting I informed him that Ambassador Osuský would be glad to see him in Paris in order to organize a Czecho-Slovak Army. To this General Viest answered that he did not believe war would break out and that he would stay where he was. (I did not know at that time that he had already promised Beneš that he would soon join him).⁶

In the remaining days I busied myself seeing personalities from Slovak political, cultural, and economic life. Among others, I visited Dr. Vojtech Brestenský, Secretary General of Slovenská liga in Bratislava, who promised to send books, periodicals, films, pictures, and other cultural items to Paris. He also gave me some financial help and asked me to work in France for the Slovenská liga, represented then by Klement Šichmák. In Trnava I visited Monsignor Ján Pöstényi, the Director of the Spolok Sv. Vojtecha, who warmly received me. He gave me two packages of books for the Reverend Ján Futák in Argenteuil and also some financial assistance for lecturing among the Slovaks in France on behalf of Slovak religious awareness.

At the "Slovenský klub" in the Café Redoute in Bratislava I met with the Minister of Economy, Dr. Gejza Medrický; Dr. Peter

Zat'ko of the Centrale of Slovak Industry; Dr. Alexander Hrnčár of the Ministry of Finance; Dr. Imrich Karvaš of the Slovak National Bank, and other economists. The invitation of this meeting had come from Medrický, whom I had known for some years in connection with autonomist political actions. The discussion concerned mostly the economy but also touched on politics. I included the main points of this debate in the report for Osuský.

One of the most interesting, and at the same time most informative, meetings I had had in Bratislava was in the student residence Svoradov, where I met many of my colleagues. In their discussions they portrayed the events of March 14, 1939 with the utmost frankness. Most of them were adherents of Sidor and only a few supported the radical wing headed by Mach and Murgaš. From their heated debate I learned that they did not consider Hitler to be a culprit but rather a ruthless politician. They expressed their doubts about the Western concept of European order. The West, they argued, had lost cultural preeminence, failed in political initiative, and lacked overall vitality. They dismissed the immediate danger of war and were quite philosophical about the future. To my outline of the Western mood of the public and a resolute resistance toward further concessions to Hitler, they offered a picture of Slovakia built on Christian principles and rallied politically around Tiso as the best safeguard against the eventualities of an armed peace.

In sum, I was struck by two elements in Slovak political life: one was a real ambition to build the Slovak state as if it were an independent entity outside of the complexities of the European theater; the other was the unbelievable credulity in a simplified version of their capability for survival. There was an almost palpable feeling of nationalistic fervor everywhere. Listening to Foreign Minister Ďurčanský's self-confidence and to his broadly-based diplomatic ambitions, I could not believe that he had taken the Treaty of Protection with Germany seriously. The German minority in Slovakia was small, their Nazism in most localities questionable, and as a political factor they did not play as yet a visible role. The overall mood of rural Slovakia was optimistic, almost careless in its disregard of international embrolios.

Based on these experiences, it was difficult for me to draw a gloomy picture of the future, especially among those who achieved personal and material satisfaction, e.g., young Slovak intellectuals or businessmen who exploited fully the occasion of the revolutionary change. The Jewish question had been in the minds of the radicals in their newspapers or speeches, but their zealotry was tamed by the government's promotion of constructive primary economic projects.

Prime Minister Tiso was considered a man of moral integrity, wise, and moderate. Sidor, on the other hand, was severely judged by both radicals for his lack of courage and by the "old guard" for his indecisiveness. Ďurčanský was a "political technician," whose ideological armory supplied the energy for the running of the state machinery. He had a few followers and even fewer personal friends. Alexander Mach, Karol Murgaš, Ján Farkaš, Jozef Joštiak, Ján Dafčík, and others had some credit in the nation and among the students for their sacrifices in the past, but in this stage of rebuilding the Slovak society they represented a group of malcontents — radicals whose fighting spirit was not out of focus. Their pro-German leanings pushed them to the margin of the political stream.

After Obtulovič left for Paris I remained a few more days in Slovakia for my second audience with Tiso and a meeting with Ďurčanský. In his monologue Tiso talked about the preservation of the Slovak state and believed that the West would concur with him in the self-determination principle, which, in his opinion, would respect the will of the people. He did not believe that Osuský would be willing to accept the existence of the Slovak state, but his struggle for a federal Czecho-Slovakia underlined the principle of self-determination. Tiso saw my point in stressing the political importance of the Slovak soldiers in France fighting against Hitler, but he hastened to add "and for the Slovak state." He repeated his original wish to send a "cultural delegation" to France and advised me to remain in touch with the Slovak League in America, especially with Monsignor Francis Duboš. With these recommendations my audience with the prime minister ended.

With Foreign Minister Ďurčanský I discussed all the issues that had arisen during my visit to Slovakia. Ďurčanský planned to remain in contact with Paris through an employee of the Slovak embassy in Budapest, whose official assignment would be to communicate with the Slovak consulate in Paris. For the time being he intended to send some literature and messages to the Catholic mission in Argenteuil for the Reverend Futák. We also discussed at length the question of a Slovak Legion in France. Ďurčanský envisaged such a possible development. To this end he promised to send 15 to 20 "students" to Paris for the fall semester who could eventually become available for action in organizing the Slovaks as an independent military unit.

The main object of my "mission" was to contact Osuský's friends and eventually to encourage them to go into exile. I talked with many of those whom Osuský suggested, but none of them was willing to emigrate. This was the case with Emil Boleslav Lukáč, Dr. Miloš Vančo, Ján Teplánsky, Dr. Martin Mičura, Dr. Anton Štefánek, Dr. Peter Zat'ko, Dr. Alexander Hrnčár, and Dr. Imrich Karvaš. When asked to prepare and send to Osuský a statement on the situation in Slovakia and on plans for the future, not a single one of these individuals manifested any interest. I did not meet Bishops Osuský or Ruppeldt and those persons listed in the letters which they had picked up at the French consulate in Bratislava.

I gathered all possible documents from Slovakia and sent them to Osuský in a diplomatic pouch through the French consul. Among the documents were a copy of the *Schutzvertrag* and the secret Protocols concerning the German claims in the territorial, economic, financial, or military field. Also included were my diary, packages for the Reverend Futák, photographs from occupied Southern Slovakia, brochures, proclamations, pamphlets, Hlinka Guard "orders," and various books and clippings from the daily press.

Although I had planned to see Karol Sidor, I had no opportunity to do so. My message to him from Osuský was oral and involved a request for his comments on the March 14th events along with an invitation to join him in Paris. Sidor kept himself aloof from the public, and I was told that his movements were

being monitored by the Gestapo. He therefore would not welcome my visit or interview.

I had my passport restamped with the stamp of the Slovak Republic and returned safely to France. There I met Obtulovič, who had already spoken to the officials of the French Foreign Office and also with Osuský. The next day I gave Osuský a full report of my experiences in Slovakia and Hungary and also described my meetings with Osuský's friends and acquaintances.

Osuský did not accept the idea that the Slovak consulate in Paris should be the communication link between him and Bratislava. He also was not in favor of a Slovak office in Paris, like Slovakotour, which could be used as a cover for the contacts with Bratislava. He did not make any qualified statement on mobilizing Slovaks in France into an independent Slovak military unit, but promised to fight for the right of the Slovaks to form their own units under Slovak officers in the framework of a Czechoslovak Army. He touched vaguely on the question of the Slovaks in Hungary, postponing diplomatic steps for the postwar reshaping of Europe. Osuský was totally disappointed that there were no political leaders in Slovakia, especially from among the former officials of Czechoslovakia, who manifested any interest of cooperation with the West and with him.

Together with Obtulovič I visited Osuský the next evening. After repeating what he had told me, he openly asked Obtulovič if one of the leading Slovaks would be willing to join him. He stressed the diplomatic realities: the British and also the French might differentiate the fate of the Czechs and the Slovaks; once war was declared, they would fight for the restoration of Czechoslovakia. It was necessary, he said, on the part of the Slovak government to prepare an official memorandum indicating that the Slovaks had been acting under German pressure and that the Slovak state had been forced upon the Slovaks. Such a document could be interpreted as proof that whatever it did was justified to save the nation. He repeated again and again that he was resolutely opposed to the centralized form of Czechoslovakia and that his concept for the future was favorable to the Slovaks and acceptable to the West. This concept included the return of the occupied Southern Slovakia to the homeland.

Obtulovič responded with a more detailed explanation of the Slovak position and asked for time to reevaluate all aspects of the discussions with Tiso and Ďurčanský. It was agreed that Osuský would not hinder the work of the Slovak consul in Paris and that the Slovak government would send to Paris a *persona grata* to Osuský. Obtulovič stressed the question of the Slovaks in France in case of war, considering them to be an outpost of the Slovaks' true anti-Nazis feelings. He indicated that the Slovak government would send a "cultural delegation" and some "students" to France who would be advised to cooperate with the Slovaks in the United States organized in the Slovak League of America. Osuský did not reject the idea, but he claimed the allegiance of the Slovaks in the event of war to the leadership of the resistance. The contacts with Bratislava would continue, and Obtulovič would return to Paris as soon as the Slovak government, or rather Tiso and Ďurčanský, would consider it useful. There was a tacit understanding that Obtulovič would talk to Sidor and that both would meet Osuský's emissary in Budapest.

There were, of course, differences in positions, but they were not insurmountable. One of them was the choice and location of the Slovak diplomatic personnel in the West, the other the insistence of Tiso on the preservation of the Slovak state. The surprisingly rapid development of the international crisis, however, prevented both the Slovak government and Osuský from establishing any direct contacts.

Although France recognized the Slovak government *de facto* on July 14, 1939, no Slovak consul in Paris was accredited. The contemplated candidate for this position, Ing. Milan Harminc, who presented himself personally at the French Foreign Office and was considered a leading pretender, had been in the meantime accredited as Slovak consul in London. Suggested for the Slovak consul in Paris was Dr. Bohdan Galvánek, whose pro-German leanings were generally known and who was flatly rejected by the French Foreign Office. Time lost in the protection of the accreditation process had been sufficiently long for the successful negative intervention of Czech politicians at the French Foreign Office.

Gradually, with the arrival of more pro-Beneš exiles in Paris, Osuský was losing hold of the leadership. By the end of August, 1939, after his discussion with Beneš in London (August 24), he abandoned his firm Slovak stand on the independent Slovak military units and was instrumental in reaching an agreement with the French government (August 28) on the creation of a Czechoslovak Army in France with no independent Slovak units. The political consequences of this development buried Osuský as the leader of the Slovaks abroad and abolished all possible contacts with Slovakia.

At this point my "mission" and my efforts to demonstrate Slovak anti-Nazi feelings to the West lost all meaning.

NOTES

¹ A more detailed discussion of this period will follow in further personal memoirs to be published by the author.

² Dr. Štefan Osuský was born in Brezová pod Bradlom, Slovakia, on March 31, 1889 into a distinguished Lutheran family. After some harassment by the Magyars while in secondary school, he emigrated to the United States in 1906. He joined his sister in Chicago, where in 1915 he earned a doctorate in law from the University of Chicago. In 1916 he was named, together with Gustáv Košík, as a special delegate of the Slovak League of America to the Czechoslovak Committee in Paris, headed by Dr. Edvard Beneš. Next to Dr. Milan R. Štefánik, Osuský was the second leading Slovak who participated in winning recognition for the new state of Czechoslovakia.

After the war Osuský represented Czechoslovakia at different international committees in Europe and eventually became the Czechoslovak ambassador in France (1921-1940). His political views echoed in large part those of the first President of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš G. Masaryk, whom Osuský greatly admired. He differed with Masaryk, however, on the question of the Czech and Slovak constitutional arrangement. Osuský was proud of his Slovak nationality and was sympathetic toward the Slovak movement for national self-determination.

When Beneš became president in 1935, Osuský expected to replace him as foreign minister. Beneš, who disliked Osuský, named instead Dr. Kamil Krofta. Osuský remained in Paris bitterly resenting this "injustice."

Part of Osuský's political action in Paris after March, 1939, is described in this memoir. While in Paris he enjoyed the political support of the French government, especially in his antagonism toward Beneš. In London, however, he became totally isolated. His altercations with Beneš in the London Czechoslovak exile government ended with a total break and animosity. After

the war Osuský emigrated to the United States, where he lectured occasionally and wrote an analysis of the democratic process in a thinking society entitled *The Way of the Free* (New York, 1951). Among his earlier publications are *Les Magyars et Pangermanistes* (Paris, 1918) and *George D. Herron, dôverník Wilsonov počas vojny* (Brno, 1925). While in Great Britain during World War II Osuský wrote political pamphlets — *Pravda vit'azi* (1942), “*Řízena demokracie*” pri práci (1942), *Beneš a Slovensko* (1943), and *Triedenie duchov nastalo* (1943) — in which he sharply criticized Beneš for his stubborn insistence on adhering to the old, centralized structure of Czechoslovakia.

³ The pertinent passage from Osuský's speech in Argenteuil reads as follows: “. . . I hereby declare that a policy depriving the Slovak nation of its inalienable rights will never get my consent. Those Czechs and Slovaks who pursued such excessive centralism must publicly admit that their political conception has failed, is dead and rests in a tomb. Otherwise, the Slovaks will face similar ambitions for Czechoslovak unity with justified resistance. What matters now is the existence and future of Czecho-Slovakia. He who would threaten the Slovaks with centralism and persecution is the enemy of the restoration of the Republic, because without Slovakia there could nor would be Czecho-Slovakia.

Finally, I must say to the Slovaks that the French authorities will tolerate no propaganda against France and for Nazism. As for myself, as an official representative of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, I will not protect those Slovaks who calumniate the Czechs, the Czecho-Slovak authorities and Czechoslovakia. The Slovaks who look for the salvation of Slovakia in Hitler, should address themselves to him for livelihood and protection. They will fall into slavery instead of remaining free citizens. Only the Czecho-Slovak Republic will bring back freedom, independence, and the right to a dignified life to the Czechs and Slovaks. This is our conviction and our national belief.” As quoted in Štefan Osuský, *Česko-Slovensko a jeho budúcnosť* (Paris, 1939), pp. 50-51.

⁴ At the French consulate I picked up the mail sent to me from Paris. Osuský sent several personal letters to be delivered to Bishop Samuel Osuský, Bishop Fedor Ruppeldt, and Dr. Anton Štefánek, and a thick envelope of letters to be picked up later by someone mentioned in the delivered letters. There were also two reports: one, official from the embassy, dealing with the international situation; the other, a sketchy outline of the planned communication between Paris and Bratislava.

⁵ Documents FO 371/22903/338-39 and FO 371/22903/341, British Foreign Office Files, Public Record Office, London. Copies of these documents were made available to me by František Vnuk. A Slovak translation of them can be found in Vnuk's *Slovenská otázka na Západe v rokoch 1939-1940* (Cleveland, 1974), pp. 54-56.

⁶ I met General Viest in Paris in the late summer of 1939. He visited the “Political Club” Madame Sís. Once a week she received at her home invited guests of different political affiliations for open discussion. At such a friendly meeting General Viest made known his political allegiance to Beneš.

My next meeting with General Viest was in Béziers in Southern France at the Headquarters of the Czechoslovak Army. As a soldier at the nearby Czechoslovak Army Camp in Agde, I visited the Headquarters to plead for the Slovaks in the military prison, because they refused to fight for Beneš's type of Czechoslovakia. (the "Frývaldovský Case"). General Viest did not allow me to see Frývaldovský and dismissed me without any answer. I submitted the complaint to the French Military Command. Although the outcome of this intervention was never revealed to me, Frývaldovský was repatriated to Slovakia in 1941.

Slovak-American Newspapers, 1885-1975: A Preliminary Listing

M. MARK STOLARIK

In 1983, as the centennial of the Slovak-American press approached, I decided to re-work Konštantín Čulen's annotated bibliography *Slovenské časopisy v Amerike* (Cleveland: First Catholic Slovak Union, 1970) and tell the story as he would have had he not died prematurely in 1964. Therefore, I literally took his book apart and put it back together again with the aid of a computer. This resulted in two analytical essays and the listing I am about to publish. The essays were: "The Slovak-American Press," [1885-1984] in Sally M. Miller ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1987), and "At Home Abroad: The Slovak-American Press, 1885-1918," which is slated to appear in Owen V. Johnson's edited volume entitled *Mobilizing the Mobilized: The Role and Functions of the Mass Media in Eastern Europe*.

The list of Slovak-American newspapers published between 1885 and 1975 which follows is based upon Čulen's book, cited above, and the late Michal Lacko's *Slovak Bibliography Abroad, 1945-1965*, and *1966-1975* published in *Slovak Studies VII and XVII, Bibliografica 1 and 2* (Rome: Slovak Institute, 1967 and 1977). Čulen listed 246 titles in his book, but, upon close inspection, I discovered 39 titles that he could not verify or which should not have been listed because they were not Slovak newspapers. I subtracted these from the list. Furthermore, Lacko discovered 13 titles that Čulen had missed and I added these, coming up with a grand total of 220 for the period 1885-1975. There have probably

been more than 220 Slovak-American newspapers in the period 1885-1975, but they remain to be discovered and verified. Also, Jozef Rydlo, who has taken over the duties of editor of *Slovak Studies*, is presently working on a *Slovak Bibliography Abroad, 1976-1985* and his work will allow me, or someone else, to update the list to 1985.

Meanwhile, here is how I prepared the list. I carefully read Čulen's annotated bibliography and kept his definition of a newspaper as one that appeared at least quarterly. I then listed the title, the date and city it first appeared in, and also major subsequent cities if it moved, and the date it folded.

This list (plus my analytical articles, cited above) supplements the work of Michal Potemra who published a *Bibliografia slovenských novín a časopisov do roku 1918* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1958) and Mária Kipsová *et. al.* *Bibliografia slovenských a inorečových novín a časopisov z rokov 1919-1938* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1968). I hope that students of Slovak-American history will find it useful.

Slovak-American Newspapers, 1885-1975

1885

Bulletin (Pittsburgh, 1885-1886)

Slovák v Amerike (Plymouth & New York, 1889-)

Zástava (Plymouth, Pa., 1889)

1886

Bulletin
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
(Pittsburgh, 1886-1922)

1890
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Katolícke noviny
Slovák v Amerike

1887

Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny

1891
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Jednota (Cleveland, 1891-)
Katolícke noviny
Slovák v Amerike

1888

Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Nová vlast' (Streator, Ill., 1888)

1892
Americký Slovák (Cleveland,
1892-1894)
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Jednota

1889

Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Katolícke noviny (Hazleton, Pa.,
1889-1891)
Robotník (Connellsville, Pa., 1889)

Slovák v Amerike	1896
Slovenské listy (Jersey City, N.J., 1892)	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
1893	Čas
Americký Slovák	Cirkevné listy
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Jednota
Jednota	Katolík
Slovák v Amerike	Pravda
Slovenská svornosť (Connellsville, Pa., 1893-1897)	Rarášek (Pittsburgh, 1896-1912)
1894	Šašok (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1896-1898)
Americký Slovák	Slovák v Amerike
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Slovaktownské hlasy (Pittsburgh, 1896)
Cirkevné listy (Cleveland, 1894-1899)	Slovenská pravda
Fakla (New York City, 1894)	Slovenská svornosť
Jednota	Slovenský hlas
Maják (Pittsburgh, 1894)	1897
Pravda (Connellsville, Pa., 1894-1896)	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Slovák v Amerike	Čarodejník (Cleveland, 1897-1898)
Slovenská pravda (Freeland, Pa., 1894-1904)	Čas
Slovenská svornosť	Cirkevné listy
Slovenský hlas (Pittsburgh, 1894-1898)	The Immigrant (Pittsburgh, 1897)
1895	Jednota
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Katolík
Čas (Nanticoke, Pa., 1895-1899)	Mydlo (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897-1898)
Cirkevné listy	Rarášek
Jednota	Šašok
Katolík (Freeland, Pa., 1895-1898)	Slovák v Amerike
Pravda	Slovenská pravda
Rodina (Cleveland, 1895)	Slovenská svornosť
Slovák (New York City, 1895)	Slovenské noviny (Hazleton, Pa., 1897-1911)
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenský hlas
Slovenská pravda	1898
Slovenská svornosť	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Slovenský hlas	Čarodejník

Šašok	Šlebodny Orel (New York, N.Y., 1901-1904)
Slovák v Amerike	Sloboda
Slovenská pravda	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenské noviny	Slovenská pravda
Slovenský hlas	Slovenské noviny
1899	Slovenský denník (Pittsburgh, 1901-1915)
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Slovenský hlásnik
Bratstvo (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1899-1941; 1945-)	Viera (Cleveland, 1901-1902)
Čas	1902
Cirkevné listy	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Jednota	Bratstvo
Nový Černokňažník (Cleveland, 1899)	Jednota
Rarášek	Lutherán
Slovák v Amerike	Rarášek
Slovenská pravda	Šlebodny orel
Slovenské noviny	Slovák v Amerike
1900	Slovenská pravda
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Slovenské noviny
Bratstvo	Slovenský Američan (Pittsburgh, 1902-1903)
Čas	Slovenský denník
Jednota	Slovenský hlásnik
Lutherán (Cleveland, 1900-1902)	Slovenský občan (Bridgeport, Conn., 1902)
Rarášek	Viera
Sloboda (Chicago, 1900-1901)	1903
Slovák v Amerike	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Slovenská pravda	Bratstvo
Slovenské noviny	Jednota
Slovenský hlásnik (Pittsburgh, 1900-1962)	Rarášek
Slovenský Lutherán (Philadelphia, 1900)	Šlebodny orel
1901	Slovák v Amerike
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Slovenská pravda
Bratstvo	Slovenské noviny
Jednota	Slovenský Američan
Lutherán	Slovenský denník
Našo novini (New York, N.Y., 1901)	Slovenský hlásnik
Rarášek	1904
Šip (Cleveland, 1901)	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny

Bratstvo	Slovenský sokol
Jednota	Slovenský týždenník
Rarášek	Svedok (Pittsburgh, 1906-)
Robotník (New York, N.Y., 1904)	Zornička (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1906-1907)
Šlebodny V Amerike	
Slovenská pravda	
Slovenské noviny	1907
Slovenský denník	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Slovenský hlásník	Bratstvo
	Hlas (Cleveland, 1907-1947)
1905	Jednota
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Bratstvo	Naša zástava
Jednota	Rarášek
Rarášek	Rovnosť ľudu
Slovák v Amerike	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenské noviny	Slovenské noviny
Slovensko-Americký zábavník (Chicago, 1905-1912)	Slovensko-Americký zábavník
Slovenský denník	Slovenský denník
Slovenský hlásník	Slovenský hlásník
Slovenský sokol (Perth Amboy, N.J., 1905-1966)	Slovenský Kalvín (Pittsburgh, 1907-1962)
Slovenský týždenník (New York, N.Y., 1905-1906)	Slovenský pokrok
Sokol a národ (1905)	Slovenský sokol
	Svedok
1906	Ženský svet (New York, N.Y., 1907-1908)
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Zornička
Bratstvo	
Jednota	1908
Katolícke Slovenské noviny (Chicago, 1906-1926)	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Naša zástava (Bridgeport, Conn., 1906-1907)	Bratstvo
Rarášek	Hlas
Rovnosť ľudu (Chicago, 1906-1935)	Jednota
Slovák v Amerike	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Slovenské noviny	Krajan (Hazleton, Pa., 1908)
Slovensko-Americký zábavník	Rarášek
Slovenský denník	Rovnosť ľudu
Slovenský hlásník	Škola reči anglickej (Pittsburgh, 1908-1909)
Slovenský pokrok (New York, N.Y., 1906-1911)	Slovák v Amerike
	Slovenské noviny
	Slovensko-Americký zábavník
	Slovenský denník

Slovenský hlásnik	Rovnost' ľudu
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenský národ (Cudahy, Wisc., 1908)	Slovenské listy (Chicago, 1910)
Slovenský pokrok	Slovenské noviny
Slovenský sokol	Slovensko-Americký zábavnik
Svedok	Slovenský denník
Ženský svet	Slovenský hlásnik
Živena (Pittsburgh, 1908-)	Slovenský Kalvín
1909	Slovenský pokrok
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Slovenský sokol
Bratstvo	Slovenský svet
Hlas	Svedok
Jednota	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny (Youngstown, Ohio, 1910-1938)
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Živena
Rarášek	1911
Rovnost' ľudu	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Škola reči anglickej	Bratstvo
Slovák v Amerike	Evanjelický obzor (Cleveland, 1911-1912)
Slovenské noviny	Hlas
Slovensko-Americký zábavnik	Jednota
Slovenský denník	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Slovenský hlásnik	Katolícky sokol (Passaic, N.J., 1911-)
Slovenský Kalvín	Ludový denník (Chicago, 1911-1917)
Slovenský pokrok	Mládež
Slovenský sokol	Národné noviny
Slovenský svet (Clarksburg, W.Va., 1909-1910)	Niva
Svedok	Nová vlast' (Scranton, Pa., 1911)
Živena	Priateľ' dietok (Passaic, N.J., 1911-)
1910	Rarášek
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Rovnost' ľudu
Bratstvo	Slovák a Amerike
Hlas	Slovenské noviny
Jednota	Slovensko-Americký zábavnik
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Slovenský denník
Kometa (Passaic, N.J., 1910)	Slovenský hlásnik
Mládež (Pittsburgh, 1910-1911)	Slovenský Kalvín
Národné noviny (Pittsburgh, 1910-)	Slovenský obzor (Passaic, N.J., 1911)
Niva (Homestead, Pa., 1910-1911)	Slovenský pokrok
Rarášek	Slovenský sokol

Svedok	Katolícky sokol
Svornost' (Pittsburgh, 1911-1970)	Krajan (New York, N.Y., 1913-1921)
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Krest'an
Živena	Ludový denník
1912	Národné noviny
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	New Yorský denník (New York, N.Y., 1913-1975)
Bratstvo	Osveta (Cleveland, 1913)
Evanjelický obzor	Priateľ' dietok
Hlas	Rovnost' ľudu
Jednota	Slovák v Amerike
Juhozápadné noviny (Deslego, Mo., 1912)	Slovenské slovo (Chicago, 1913-1914)
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Slovenský denník
Katolícky sokol	Slovenský hlásnik
Krest'an (Uniontown, Pa., 1912-1932)	Slovenský Kalvín
Ludový denník	Slovenský občan
Národné noviny	Slovenský sokol
Národný denník (Chicago, 1912)	Svedok
Priateľ' dietok	Svornost'
Rarášek	Viestnik (Chicago, 1913)
Rovnost' ľudu	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Slovák v Amerike	Živena
Slovensko-Americký zábavník	1914
Slovenský denník	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Slovenský hlásnik	Bratstvo
Slovenský Kalvín	Hlas
Slovenský občan (Hazleton, Pa., 1912-1947)	Hlas svobody (New York, N.Y., 1914-1917)
Slovenský sokol	Jednota
Slovenský týždenník (Cleveland, 1912)	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Svedok	Katolícky sokol
Svornost'	Krajan
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Krest'an
Živena	Kritika (Cleveland, 1914-1915)
1913	Ludový denník
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Národné noviny
Bratstvo	Národný denník (Pittsburgh, 1914-1916)
Hlas	Národný Slovenský denník (Chicago, 1914-1916)
Jednota	New Yorský denník
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Priateľ' dietok

Rovnosc' ľudu	Slovák v Amerike
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenský denník
Slovenské slovo	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský denník	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenský občan
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský občan	Svedok
Slovenský sokol	Svornost'
Svedok	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Svornost'	Ženská jednota
Úplná zdržanlivost' (Hazleton, Pa., 1914)	Živena
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	1916
Ženská jednota (Cleveland, 1914-1975)	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Živena	Amerikánsko-Slovenský svet
1915	Besedy ľudu
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Bratstvo
Amerikánsko-Slovenský bulletin (Pittsburgh, 1915)	Čertík (Pittsburgh, 1916-1917)
Amerikánsko-Slovenský svet (Pittsburgh, 1915-1916)	Denný hlas
Besedy ľudu (New York, 1915-1917)	Farník
Bratstvo	Hlas
Denný hlas (Cleveland, 1915-1925)	Hlas svobody
Farník (Monessen, Pa., 1915-1916)	Jednota
Hlas	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Hlas svobody	Katolícky sokol
Jednota	Krajan
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Krest'an
Katolícky sokol	Kruh mládeže
Krajan	Ludový denník
Krest'an	Národ (Pittsburgh, 1916)
Kritika	Národné noviny
Kruh mládeže (Pittsburgh, 1915-1934)	Národný denník
Ludový denník	Národný denník (Pittsburgh, 1916-1924)
Národné noviny	Národný slovenský denník
Národný denník	Nedela (Hazelton, Pa., 1916)
Národný Slovenský denník	New Yorský denník
New Yorský denník	Prehľad
Priateľ dietok	Priateľ dietok
Rovnosc' ľudu	Rovnosc' ľudu
	Slovák v Amerike
	Slovenská obrana (Scranton, Pa., 1916-1972)
	Slovenský hlásnik

Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský občan	Sokolský obzor (Chicago, 1917-1922)
Slovenský sokol	Svedok
Slovenský týždenník (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1916)	Svornosť
Svedok	Tatran (Chicago, 1917-1937)
Svornosť	Udalosti sveta (Hazleton, Pa., 1917-1919)
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Úradný orgán (Braddock, Pa., 1917-1918)
Ženská jednota	Vatra (Pittsburgh, 1917)
Živena	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
1917	Ženská jednota
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Živena
Ave Mária (Cleveland, 1917-)	
Besedy ľudu (New York, N.Y., 1915-1917)	1918
Bratstvo	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
Čertík	Ave Mária
Chicagský denník (Chicago, 1917)	Božské srdce Ježiša (Bridgeport, Conn., 1918-1952)
Chicagský Slovenský denník (Chicago, 1917)	Bratstvo
Denný hlas	Denný hlas
Hlas	Hlas
Hlas svobody	Jednota
Jednota	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Katolícky sokol
Katolícky sokol	Krajan
Krajan	Krest'an
Krest'an	Kruh mládeže
Kruh mládeže	Mladý Luterán (Streator, Ill., 1918-1941)
Ludový denník	Mudroň district (Chicago, 1918)
Národné noviny	Národné noviny
Národný denník	Národný denník
New Yorský denník	New Yorský denník
Prehľad	Nové časy (Chicago, 1918-1945)
Priateľ dietok	Nové Slovensko (Pittsburgh, 1918-1922)
Rovnosť ľudu	Obzor Slovenského robotníckeho spolku (Chicago, 1918-1920)
Slovák v Amerike	Osadník (Cleveland, 1918)
Slovenská mládež (Pittsburgh, 1917-1918)	Prehľad
Slovenská obrana	Priateľ dietok
Slovenský hlásník	Rovnosť ľudu
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenský občan	

Slovenská mládež	Slovenská obrana
Slovenská obrana	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský občan
Slovenský občan	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský sokol	Sokolský obzor
Sokolský obzor	Svedok
Svedok	Svornosť
Svornosť	Tatran
Tatran	Udalosti sveta
Udalosti sveta	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Úradný orgán	Ženská jednota
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Živena
Ženská jednota	Zrkadlo
Živena	
Žurnal spojených majnerov (Indianapolis, Ind., 1918)	1920
	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
1919	Ave Mária
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Božské srdce Ježisa
Ave Mária	Bratstvo
Božské srdce Ježiša	Černokňažník (Cleveland, 1920-1927)
Bratstvo	Československý legionár (Pittsburgh, 1920-1926)
Denný hlas	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota (Cleveland, 1920-1945)
Dobrý pastier (Munhall, Pa., 1919-)	Denný hlas
Hlas	Dobrý pastier
Jednota	Hlas
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Hlas Sv. Emanuela (Minneapolis, 1920)
Katolícky sokol	Jednota
Krajan	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Krest'an	Katolícky Slovák (Chicago, 1920-1921)
Kruh mládeže	Katolícky sokol
Mladý Luterán	Krajan
Národné noviny	Krajan dzeník (New York, 1920-1921)
Národný denník	Krest'an
New Yorský denník	Kruh mládeže
Nové časy	Mladý Luterán
Nové Slovensko	Národné bratstvo (Cleveland, 1920)
Obzor Slovenského robotníckeho spolku	Národné noviny
Priateľ dietok	
Rovnosť ľudu	
Slovák v Amerike	

Národný denník	Krest'an
New Yorský denník	Kruh mládeže
Nové časy	Mladý Luterán
Nové Slovensko	Národné noviny
Obzor Slovenského robotníckeho spolku	Národný denník
Priateľ dietok	New Yorský denník
Proletár (Cleveland, 1920-1921)	Nové časy (Chicago, 1918-1945)
Rovnosc' ľudu	Nové Slovensko
Sion (Pittsburgh, 1920-)	Priateľ dietok
Slovák v Amerike	Proletár
Slovenská obrana	Rovnosc' ľudu
Slovenský hlásnik	Sion
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenský občan	Slovenská obrana
Slovenský sokol	Slovenský hlásnik
Sokolský obzor	Slovenský Kalvín
Svedok	Slovenský občan
Svornosť	Slovenský sokol
Tatran	Sokolský obzor
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Svedok
Ženská jednota	Svornosť
Živena	Tatran
Zrkadlo	Telegraf (Bridgeport, Conn., 1921-1923)
1921	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny	Ženská jednota
Ave Mária	Živena
Božské srdce Ježiša	Zrkadlo
Bratstvo	
Černokňažník	
Československý legionár	
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	
Denný hlas	
Dobrý pastier	
Hlas	
Host' (Chicago, 1921-1922)	
Jednota	
Jaro (Middletown, Pa., 1921-1964)	
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	
Katolícky Slovák	
Katolícky sokol	
Krajan	
Krajan dzenník	
	1922
	Americký Slovák (Pittsburgh, 1922)
	Amerikánsko-Slovenské noviny
	Ave Mária
	Božské srdce Ježiša
	Bratstvo
	Černokňažník
	Československý legionár
	Chicagský Slovenský denník (Chicago, 1922)
	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
	Denný hlas
	Dobrý pastier
	Hlas
	Host'

Jednota	Hlas
Jaro	Jednota
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Jaro
Katolícky sokol	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Krest'an	Katolícky sokol
Kruh mládeže	Krest'an
Mladý Luterán	Kruh mládeže
Národné noviny	Mladý Luterán
Národný denník	Národné noviny
New Yorský denník	Národný denník
Nové časy	New Yorský denník
Nové Slovensko	Nová vlast' (Pittsburgh, 1923)
Priateľ dietok	Nové časy
Rovnosť ľudu	Priateľ dietok
Sion	Rovnosť ľudu
Slovák v Amerike	Sion
Slovenská obrana	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenská obrana
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský občan	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský sokol	Slovenský občan
Sokolský obzor	Slovenský sokol
Študentská horlivost' (Lisle, Ill., 1922-1923)	Študentská horlivost'
Svedok	Svedok
Svornosť	Svornosť'
Tatran	Tatran
Telegraf	Telegraf
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Ženská jednota	Ženská jednota
Živena	Živena
Zrkadlo	Zrkadlo
1923	
Ave Mária	Ave Mária
Božské srdce Ježiša	Božské srdce Ježiša
Bratstvo	Bratstvo
Černokňažník	Černokňažník
Československý legionár	Československý legionár
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Denný hlas	Denný hlas
Dobry pastier	Dobrý pastier
Fialky (Danville, Pa., 1923-1970)	Fialky
Furdek (Middletown, Pa., 1923-1941)	Furdek
1924	

Hlas	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Jednota	Dennica
Jaro	Denný hlas
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Dobrý pastier
Katolícky sokol	Fialky
Krest'an	Furdek
Kruh mládeže	Hlas
Listy Sv. Františka (Pittsburgh, 1924-)	Jednota
Mladý Luterán	Jaro
Národné noviny	Katolícke Slovenské noviny
Národný denník	Katolícky sokol
Národný týždenník (Pittsburgh, 1924)	Krest'an
Naša mládež (Chicago, 1924)	Kruh mládeže
New Yorský denník	Listy Sv. Františka
Nové časy	Mladý Luterán
Pokrovková jednota (McKees Rocks, Pa., 1924-1935)	Národné noviny
Priateľ' dietok	New Yorský denník
Rovnost' ľudu	Nové časy
Sion	Pokrovková jednota
Slovák v Amerike	Priateľ' dietok
Slovenská obrana	Rovnost' ľudu
Slovenský bulletin (Bethlehem, Pa., 1924-1929)	Sion
Slovenský hlásník	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenská obrana
Slovenský občan	Slovenské slovo (Cleveland, 1925)
Slovenský sokol	Slovenský bulletin
Svedok	Slovenský hlásník
Svornost'	Slovenský Kalvín
Tatran	Slovenský národ (Schenectady, N.Y., 1925)
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Slovenský občan
Ženská jednota	Slovenský sokol
Živena	Svedok
Zrkadlo	Svornost'
1925	Tatran
Ave Mária	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Božské srdce Ježiša	Ženská jednota
Bratstvo	Živena
Černokňažník	Zrkadlo
Československý legionár	
	1926
	Ave Mária
	Božské srdce Ježiša
	Bratstvo

Černokňažník	Černokňažník
Československý legionár	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	Dennica
Dennica	Dobrý pastier
Dobrý pastier	Fialky
Fialky	Furdek
Furdek	Hlas
Hlas	Jednota
Jednota	Jaro
Jaro	Katolícky sokol
Katolícke Slovenské noviny	Krest'an
Katolícky sokol	Kruh mládeže
Krest'an	Listy Sv. Františka
Kruh mládeže	Mladý Luterán
Listy Sv. Františka	Národné noviny
Mladý Luterán	New Yorský denník
Národné noviny	Nové časy
New Yorský denník	Pokrovská jednota
Nové časy	Priateľ dietok
Pokrovská jednota	Rovnosť ľudu
Priateľ dietok	Sdruženiar (Youngstown, Ohio, 1927)
Rovnosť ľudu	Sion
Sion	Slovák v Amerike
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenská obrana
Slovenská obrana	Slovenská ozvena (Cleveland, 1927-1931)
Slovenský bulletín	Slovenský bulletin
Slovenský hlásník	Slovenský hlásník
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský občan	Slovenský občan
Slovenský sokol	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský svet (Pittsburgh, 1926-1940)	Slovenský svet
Slovo (Pittsburgh, 1926-1937)	Slovo
Svedok	Svedok
Svornosť	Svornosť
Tatran	Tatran
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Youngstownské slovenské noviny
Ženská jednota	Ženská jednota
Živena	Živena
Zrkadlo	Zrkadlo
1927	
Ave Mária	1928
Božské srdce Ježiša	Ave Mária
Bratstvo	

Božské srdce Ježiša	Bratstvo
Bratstvo	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	Dennica
Dennica	Dobrý pastier
Dobrý pastier	Fialky
Fialky	Furdek
Furdek	Hlas
Hlas	Jednota
Jednota	Jaro
Jaro	Katolícky sokol
Katolícky sokol	Krest'an
Krest'an	Kruh mládeže
Kruh mládeže	Listy Sv. Františka
Listy Sv. Františka	Mladý Luterán
Mladý Luterán	Národné noviny
Národné noviny	New Yorský denník
New Yorský denník	Nové časy
Nové časy	Osadné hlasy
Osadné hlasy	Pokrovková jednota
Pokrovková jednota	Priateľ dietok
Priateľ dietok	Rovnost' ľudu
Rovnost' ľudu	Samostatnost' (McKeesport, Pa., 1929-1939)
Sion	Sion
Slovák v Amerike	Slovak Manor obzor (Long Island, N.Y., 1929)
Slovenská obrana	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenská ozvena	Slovenská obrana
Slovenský bulletin	Slovenská ozvena
Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenské noviny (New York, N.Y., 1929-1943)
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský bulletin
Slovenský občan	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský sokol	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský svet	Slovenský občan
Slovo	Slovenský sokol
Svedok	Slovenský svet
Svornosť	Slovo
Tatran	Svedok
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Svornosť
Ženská jednota	Tatran
Živena	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Zrkadlo	Ženská jednota

1929

Ave Mária

Božské srdce Ježiša

Zivena

Zrkadlo

1930	Západné hlasy (Milwaukee, 1930)
Ave Mária	Zenská jednota
Božské srdce Ježisa	Živena
Bratstvo	Zrkadlo
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	
Dennica	1931
Dobrý pastier	Ave Mária
Fialky	The Benedictine (Cleveland, 1931-1976)
Furdek	Božské srdce Ježiša
Hlas	Bratstvo
Jednota	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Jaro	Dennica
Kadet (Cleveland, 1930-1962)	Dobrý pastier
Katolícky sokol	Fialky
Krest'an	Furdek
Kruh mládeže	Hlas
Listy Sv. Františka	Jednota
Mladý Luterán	Jaro
Národné noviny	Kadet
New Yorský denník	Katolícky sokol
Nové časy	Krest'an
Osadné hlasy	Kruh mládeže
Pokrovová jednota	Listy Sv. Františka
Priateľ dietok	Mladý Luterán
Rovnosť ľudu	Národné noviny
Samostatnosť	The Narrator (Milwaukee, 1931-1932)
Sion	Náš svet (Chicago, 1931-1940)
Slovák Orol (New York, N.Y., 1930)	Naša stráž (Pittsburgh, 1931)
Slovák v Amerike	New Yorský denník
Slovenská obrana	Nové časy
Slovenská ozvena	Osadné hlasy
Slovenské noviny	Pokrovová jednota
Slovenský hlásnik	Priateľ dietok
Slovenský Kalvín	Rovnosť ľudu
Slovenský občan	Samostatnosť
Slovenský sokol	Sion
Slovenský svet	Slovák v Amerike
Slovo	Slovenská obrana
Sokolská stráž (Pittsburgh, 1930-1931)	Slovenská ozvena
Svedok	Slovenské noviny
Svornosť	Slovenský hlásnik
Tatran	Slovenský Kalvín
Youngtownské Slovenské noviny	

Slovenský občan	Samostatnosť
Slovenský sokol	Sion
Slovenský svet	Slovák v Amerike
Slovo	Slovenská obrana
Sokolská stráž	Slovenské noviny
Svedok	Slovenský hlasník
Svornosť	Slovenský Kalvín
Tatran	Slovenský občan
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Slovenský sokol
Ženská jednota	Slovenský svet
Živena	Slovo
Zrkadlo	Svedok
1932	Svornosť
Ave Mária	Tatran
The Benedictine	Youngstownské slovenské noviny
Božské Srdce Ježiša	Ženská jednota
Bratstvo	Živena
Cirkevník (Riverside, Ill., 1932-)	Zrkadlo
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	1933
Dennica	Ave Mária
Dobrý pastier	The Benedictine
Fialky	Božské srdce Ježiša
Furdek	Bratstvo
Hlas	Cirkevník
Jednota	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Jaro	Dennica
Kadet	Dobrý pastier
Katolícky sokol	Fialky
Krest'an	Furdek
Kruh mládeže	Hlas
Lampáš (Cleveland, 1932)	Jednota
Listy Sv. Františka	Jaro
Mladý Luterán	Kadet
Národné noviny	Katolícky sokol
The Narrator	Kruh mládeže
Náš svet	Listy Sv. Františka
New Yorský denník	Mladý Luterán
Nové časy	Národné noviny
Osadné hlasy	Náš svet
Pokroková jednota	New Yorský denník
Priateľ dietok	Nové časy
Rovnosť ľudu	Osadné hlasy
	Pokroková jednota

Pravda (Chicago, 1933-1945)	Kruh mládeže
Priateľ dietok	Listy Sv. Františka
Rovnosť ľudu	Mladý Luterán
Samostatnosť	Národné noviny
Sion	Náš svet
Slovak Democrat (New York, N.Y., 1933)	New Yorský denník
Slovák v Amerike	Nové časy
Slovenská obrana	Osadné hlasy
Slovenské noviny	Pokrovová jednota
Slovenský hlásnik	Pravda
Slovenský Kalvín	Priateľ dietok
Slovenský občan	Rovnosť ľudu
Slovenský sokol	Samostatnosť
Slovenský svet	Sion
Slovo	Slovák (New York, N.Y., 1934)
Svedok	Slovák v Amerike
Svornosť	Slovenská obrana
Tatran	Slovenská revízia (Detroit, 1934)
Wiconsinský Slovák (Milwaukee, 1933-1936)	Slovenské noviny
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Slovenský hlásnik
Ženská jednota	Slovenský Kalvín
Živena	Slovenský občan
Zrkadlo	Slovenský sokol
1934	Slovenský svet
Americký Slovák (Cleveland, 1934-35)	Slovo
Ave Mária	Svedok
The Benedictine	Svornosť
Božské srdce Ježiša	Tatran
Bratstvo	Wisconsinský Slovák
Cirkevník	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	Ženská jednota
Dennica	Živena
Detroitský Slovák (Detroit, 1934)	Zrkadlo
Dobrý pastier	1935
Fialky	Americký Slovák
Furdek	Ave Mária
Hlas	The Benedictine
Jednota	Božské srdce Ježiša
Jaro	Bratstvo
Kadet	Bulletin Slovenskej ligy v Amerike (Pittsburgh, 1935-1937)
Katolícky sokol	Cirkevník
	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota

	1936
Dennica	
Dobrý pastier	Ave Mária
Fialky	The Benedictine
Furdek	Besiedky, Listy Amerických
Hlas	Slovákov (New York, N.Y., 1936)
Jednota	Božské srdce Ježiša
Jaro	Bratstvo
Kadet	Bulletin Slovenskej ligy v Amerike
Katolícky sokol	Cirkevník
Listy Sv. Františka	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Ludový denník (Chicago, 1935-1945)	The Courier (Granite City, Ill., 1936-1937)
Mladý Luterán	Dennica
Národné noviny	Dobrý pastier
Náš svet	Fialky
New Yorský denník	Furdek
Nové časy	Hlas
Osadné hlasy	Jednota
Pokrovková jednota	Jaro
Pravda	Kadet
Priateľ dietok	Katolícky sokol
Rovnosť ľudu	Listy Sv. Františka
Rozsieváč (Gaines, Mich., 1935-1936)	Ludový denník
Samostatnosť	Mladý Luterán
Sion	Národné noviny
Slovák v Amerike	Náš svet
Slovenská obrana	New Yorský denník
Slovenské noviny	Nové časy
Slovenský hlásnik	Osadné hlasy
Slovenský Kalvín	Pravda a slávna nádej (Chicago, 1936)
Slovenský občan	Pravda
Slovenský sokol	Priateľ dietok
Slovenský svet	Rozsieváč
Slovo	Rozsieváč pravdy (Akron, Ohio, 1936)
Svedok	Samostatnosť
Svornosť	Sion
Tatran	Slovák v Amerike
Wisconsinský Slovák	Slovenská obrana
Youngstowské Slovenské noviny	Slovenské noviny
Záhradka (Pittsburgh, 1935-1937)	Slovenský hlásnik
Ženská jednota	Slovenský Kalvín
Živena	Slovenský občan
Zrkadlo	

Slovenský sokol	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenský svet	Slovenská obrana
Slovo	Slovenské noviny
Svedok	Slovenský hlásnik
Svornost'	Slovenský Kalvín
Tatran	Slovenský občan
Wisconsinský Slovák	Slovenský sokol
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Slovenský svet
Záhradka	Slovo
Ženská jednota	Svedok
Živena	Svornost'
Zrkadlo	Tatran
1937	Youngstownské Slovenské noviny
Ave Mária	Záhradka
The Benedictine	Ženská jednota
Božské srdce Ježiša	Živena
Bratstvo	Zrkadlo
Bulletin Slovenskej ligy v Amerike	1938
Cirkevník	Ave Mária
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	The Benedictine
The Courier	Božské srdce Ježiša
Dennica	Bratstvo
Dobrý pastier	Cirkevník
Fialky	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Furdek	Dennica
Hlas	Dobrý pastier
Hlásnik (Akron, Ohio, 1937)	Fialky
Jednota	Furdek
Jaro	Hlas
Kadet	Jednota
Katolícky sokol	Jaro
Listy Sv. Františka	Kadet
Ludový denník	Katolícky sokol
Mladý Luterán	Listy Sv. Františka
Národné noviny	Ludový denník
Náš svet	Mladý Luterán
New Yorský denník	Národné noviny
Nové časy	Náš svet
Osadné hlasy	New Yorský denník
Pravda	Nové časy
Priateľ dietok	Osadné hlasy
Samostatnosť	Pravda
Sion	Priateľ dietok

Samostatnosť	Samostatnosť
Sion	Sion
Slovák v Amerike	Slovák v Amerike
Slovenská obrana	Slovenská obrana
Slovenské noviny	Slovenské noviny
Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský občan	Slovenský občan
Slovenský sokol	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský svet	Slovenský svet
Stráž (Palmyra, Pa., 1938)	Svedok
Svedok	Svornosť
Svornosť	Ženská jednota
Youngstownské Slovenské noviny	Živena
Ženská jednota	Zrkadlo
Živena	
Zrkadlo	
1939	
Ave Mária	Ave Mária
The Benedictine	The Benedictine
Božské srdce Ježiša	Božské srdce Ježiša
Bratstvo	Bratstvo
Cirkevník	Cirkevník
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Dennica	Dennica
Dobrý pastier	Dobrý pastier
Fialky	Fialky
Furdek	Furdek
Hlas	Hlas
Jednota	Jednota
Jaro	Jaro
Kadet	Kadet
Katolícky sokol	Katolícky sokol
Listy Sv. Františka	Listy Sv. Františka
Ludový denník	Ludový denník
Mladý Luterán	Mladý Luterán
Národné noviny	Národné noviny
Náš svet	Náš svet
New Yorský denník	New Yorský denník
Nové časy	Nové časy
Osadné hlasy	Osadné hlasy
Pravda	Pravda
Priateľ dietok	Priateľ dietok
Priateľ dietok	Roduverný Slovák (Chicago, 1940-1942)

Sion	Slovenská obrana
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenské noviny
Slovenka (Chicago, 1940)	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenská obrana	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenské noviny	Slovenský občan
Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský Kalvín	Svedok
Slovenský občan	Svornosť
Slovenský sokol	Ženská jednota
Slovenský svet	Živena
Svedok	Zornička (Pittsburgh, 1941-)
Svornosť	Zrkadlo
Ženská jednota	
Živena	1942
Zrkadlo	Ave Mária
	The Benedictine
1941	Božské srdce Ježiša
Ave Mária	Cirkevník
The Benedictine	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Božské srdce Ježiša	Dennica
Bratstvo	Dobrý pastier
Cirkevník	Fialky
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	Hlas
Dennica	Hlas mládeže (New York, N.Y., 1942-1968)
Dobrý pastier	Jednota
Fialky	Jaro
Furdek	Kadet
Hlas	Katolícky sokol
Jednota	Listy Sv. Františka
Jaro	Ludový denník
Kadet	Národné noviny
Katolícky sokol	New Yorský denník
Listy Sv. Františka	Nové časy
Ludový denník	Osadné hlasy
Mladý Luterán	Pennsylvanská Slovenská jednota (Wilkes-Barre, 1942-1944)
Národné noviny	Pravda
New Yorský denník	Priateľ dietok
Nové časy	Roduverný Slovák
Osadné hlasy	Sion
Pravda	Slovák v Amerike
Priateľ dietok	Slovenská obrana
Roduverný Slovák	Slovenské noviny
Sion	
Slovák v Amerike	

Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský Kalvín	Svedok
Slovenský občan	Svornost'
Slovenský sokol	Ženská jednota
Svedok	Živena
Svornost'	Zornička
Ženská jednota	Zrkadlo
Živena	
Zornička	1944
Zrkadlo	Ave Mária
1943	The Benedictine
Ave Mária	Bošké srdce Ježiša
The Benedictine	Cirkevník
Božské srdce Ježiša	Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Cirkevník	Dennica
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota	Dobrý pastier
Dennica	Fialky
Dobrý pastier	Hlas
Fialky	Hlas mládeže
Hlas	Jednota
Hlas mládeže	Jaro
Jednota	Kadet
Jaro	Katolícky sokol
Kadet	Listy Sv. Františka
Katolícky sokol	Ludový denník
Listy Sv. Františka	The Lutheran Beacon (Pittsburgh, 1944-1970)
Ludový denník	Národné noviny
Národné noviny	New Yorský denník
New Yorský denník	Nové časy
Nové časy	Osadné hlasy
Osadné hlasy	Pennsylvanská Slovenská jednota
Pennsylvanská Slovenská jednota	Pravda
Pravda	Priateľ' dietok
Priateľ' dietok	Sion
Sion	Slovák v Amerike
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenská obrana
Slovak Record (Pittsburgh, 1943)	Slovenský hlásnik
Sloboda (New York, N.Y., 1943)	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenská obrana	Slovenský občan
Slovenské noviny	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský hlásnik	Svedok
Slovenský Kalvín	Svornost'
Slovenský občan	Ženská jednota

Živena
Zornička
Zrkadlo

Zornička
Zrkadlo

1945

Ave Mária
The Benedictine
Božské srdce Ježiša
Bratstvo (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.,
1954-)
Cirkevník
Clevelandská Slovenská jednota
Dennica
Dobrý pastier
Fialky
Hlas
Hlas mládeže
Jednota
Jaro
Kadet
Katolícky sokol
Listy Sv. Františka
Ludové noviny (Chicago, 1945-1984)
Ludový denník
The Lutheran Beacon
Národné noviny
New Yorský denník
Nové časy
Osadné hlasy
Pravda
Priateľ dietok
Sion
Slovák v Amerike
Slovenská obrana
Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský občan
Slovenský sokol
Svedok
Svornost'
Za tú našu slovenčinu (Scranton,
Pa., 1945)
Ženská jednota
Živena

1946

Ave Mária
The Benedictine
Božské srdce Ježiša
Bratstvo
Cirkevník
Dennica
Dobrý pastier
Fialky
Hlas
Hlas mládeže
Hlas slovenskej slobody (Wilkes-
Barre, Pa., 1946)
Jednota
Jaro
Kadet
Katolícky sokol
Listy Sv. Františka
Ludové noviny
The Lutheran Beacon
Národné noviny
New Yorský denník
Osadné hlasy
Priateľ dietok
Sion
Slovák v Amerike
Slovak Digest (Pittsburgh, 1946)
Slovak Review (Middletown, Pa.,
1946-1947)
Slovenská obrana
Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenský občan
Slovenský sokol
Svedok
Svornost'
Ženská jednota
Živena
Zornička
Zrkadlo

1947

Ave Mária
 The Benedictine
 Božské srdce Ježiša
 Bratstvo
 Cirkevník
 Dennica
 Dobrý pastier
 Fialky
 Hlas
 Hlas mládeže
 Jednota
 Jaro
 Kadet
 Katolícky sokol
 Listy Sv. Františka
 Ľudové noviny
 The Lutheran Beacon
 Národné noviny
 New Yorský denník
 Osadné hlasy
 Priateľ dietok
 Sion
 Slovák v Amerike
 Slovak Review
 Slovenská obrana
 Slovenský hlásnik
 Slovenský Kalvín
 Slovenský občan
 Slovenský sokol
 Svedok
 Svornosť
 Ženská jednota
 Živena
 Zornička
 Zrkadlo

1948

Ave Mária
 The Benedictine
 Božské srdce Ježiša
 Bratstvo
 Cirkevník
 Dennica

Dobrý pastier
 Fialky
 Hlas mládeže
 Jednota
 Jaro
 Kadet
 Katolícky sokol
 Listy Sv. Františka
 Ľudové noviny
 The Lutheran Beacon
 Národný Slovenský týždenník
 (Chicago, 1948)
 New Yorský denník
 Osadné hlasy
 Priateľ dietok
 Sion
 Slovak Bulletin (Pittsburgh, 1948)
 Slovák v Amerike
 Slovenská liga (Passaic, 1948)
 Slovenská obrana
 Slovenský hlásnik
 Slovenský Kalvín
 Slovenský sokol
 Svedok
 Svornosť
 Ženská jednota
 Živena
 Zornička
 Zrkadlo

1949

Ave Mária
 The Benedictine
 Božské srdce Ježiša
 Bratstvo
 Cirkevník
 Dennica
 Dobrý pastier
 Fialky
 Hlas mládeže
 Jednota
 Jaro
 Kadet
 Katolícky sokol

Listy Sv. Františka	Osadné hlasy
Ludové noviny	Priateľ dietok
The Lutheran Beacon	Sion
Národné noviny	Slovák v Amerike
New Yorský denník	Slovak newsletter
Osadné hlasy	Slovenská obrana
Priateľ dietok	Slovenské noviny
Sion	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovak Newsletter (Middletown, Pa., 1949-1958)	Slovenský sokol
Slovenská obrana	Svedok
Slovenské noviny (Cleveland, 1949-1959)	Svornosť
Slovenský hlásnik	Ženská jednota
Slovenský Kalvín	Živena
Slovenský sokol	Zornička
Svedok	Zrkadlo
Svornosť	1951
Ženská jednota	Ave Mária
Živena	The Benedictine
Žornička	Božské srdce Ježiša
Zrkadlo	Bratstvo
1950	Čas
Ave Mária	Cirkevník
The Benedictine	Dennica
Božské srdce Ježiša	Dobrý pastier
Bratstvo	Fialky
Čas (Washington, D.C., 1950-1959)	Hlas mládeže
Cirkevník	Jednota
Dennica	Jaro
Dobrý pastier	Kadet
Fialky	Katolícky sokol
Hlas mládeže	Listy Sv. Františka
Jednota	Ludové noviny
Jaro	The Lutheran Beacon
Kadet	Národné noviny
Katolícky sokol	New Yorský denník
Listy Sv. Františka	Osadné hlasy
Ludové noviny	Priateľ dietok
The Lutheran Beacon	Sion
Národné noviny	Slovák v Amerike
New Yorský denník	Slovak Eagle (Bridgeport, Conn., 1951-)

Slovenská obrana	Svornost'
Slovenské noviny	Ženská jednota
Slovenský hlásnik	Živena
Slovenský Kalvín	Zornička
Slovenský sokol	Zrkadlo
Svedok	
Svornost'	1953
Ženská jednota	Ave Mária
Živena	The Benedictine
Zornička	Bratstvo
Zrkadlo	Bulletin of the Slovak National Council Abroad (Middletown, Pa., 1953-1958)
1952	Čas
Ave Mária	Cirkevník
The Benedictine	Dennica
Božské srdce Ježiša	Dobrý pastier
Bratstvo	Fialky
Čas	Floridský Slovák (Maitland, Fla., 1953-)
Cirkevník	Hlas mládeže
Dennica	Jednota
Dobrý pastier	Jaro
Fialky	Kadet
Hlas mládeže	Katolícky sokol
Jednota	Listy Sv. Františka
Jaro	Ludové noviny
Kadet	The Lutheran Beacon
Katolícky sokol	Národné noviny
Listy Sv. Františka	New Yorský denník
Ludové noviny	Osadné hlasy
The Lutheran Beacon	Priateľ dietok
Národné noviny	Sion
New Yorský denník	Slovák v Amerike
Osadné hlasy	Slovak Eagle
Priateľ dietok	Slovak Newsletter
Sion	Slovenská obrana
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenské noviny
Slovak Eagle	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovak Newsletter	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenská obrana	Slovenský sokol
Slovenské noviny	Svedok
Slovenský hlásnik	Svornost'
Slovenský Kalvín	Ženská jednota
Slovenský sokol	
Svedok	

Živena	1955
Zornička	Ave Mária
Zrkadlo	The Benedictine
1954	Bratstvo
Ave Mária	Bulletin of the Slovak National
The Benedictine	Council Abroad
Bratstvo	Čas
Bulletin of the Slovak National	Cirkevník
Council Abroad	Dennica
Čas	Dobrý pastier
Cirkevník	Fialky
Dennica	Floridský Slovák
Dobrý pastier	Hlas mládeže
Fialky	Jednota
Floridský Slovák	Jaro
Hlas mládeže	Kadet
Jednota	Katolícky sokol
Jaro	Listy Sv. Františka
Kadet	Ludové noviny
Katolícky sokol	The Lutheran Beacon
Listy Sv. Františka	Most
Ludové noviny	Národné noviny
The Lutheran Beacon	New Yorský denník
Most (Cleveland, 1954-)	Osadné hlasy
Národné noviny	Priateľ dietok
New Yorský denník	Sion
Osadné hlasy	Slovák v Amerike
Priateľ dietok	Slovak Eagle
Sion	Slovak Newsletter
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenská obrana
Slovak Eagle	Slovenské noviny
Slovak Newsletter	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenská obrana	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenské noviny	Slovenský sokol
Slovenský hlásnik	Svedok
Slovenský Kalvín	Svornosť
Slovenský sokol	Ženská jednota
Svedok	Živena
Svornosť	Zornička
Ženská jednota	Zrkadlo
Živena	1956
Zornička	Ave Mária
Zrkadlo	The Benedictine

Bratstvo	The Benedictine
Bulletin of the Slovak National Council Abroad	Bratstvo
Čas	Bulletin of the Slovak National Council Abroad
Cirkevník	Čas
Dennica	Cirkevník
Dobrý pastier	Dennica
Fialky	Dobrý pastier
Floridský Slovák	Fialky
Hlas mládeže	Floridský Slovák
Jednota	Hlas mládeže
Jaro	Jednota
Kadet	Jaro
Katolícky sokol	Kadet
Listy Sv. Františka	Katolícky sokol
Ludové noviny	Listy Sv. Františka
The Lutheran Beacon	Ludové noviny
Most	The Lutheran Beacon
Národné noviny	Most
New Yorský denník	Národné noviny
Osadné hlasy	New Yorský denník
Priateľ dietok	Osadné hlasy
Rozhl'ady (New York, N.Y., 1956-1959)	Priateľ dietok
Sion	Rozhl'ady
Slovák v Amerike	Sion
Slovak Eagle	Slovák v Amerike
Slovak Newsletter	Slovak Eagle
Slovenská obrana	Slovak Newsletter
Slovenské noviny	Slovenská obrana
Slovenský hlásnik	Slovenské noviny
Slovenský Kalvín	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovenský sokol	Slovenský Kalvín
Svedok	Slovenský sokol
Svornost'	Svedok
Ženska jednota	Svornost'
Živena	Ženská jednota
Zornička	Živena
Zrkadlo	Zornička
1957	1958
Amerikánsko-Slovenský kocúr (Cleveland, 1957-1958)	Amerikansko-Slovenský kocúr
Ave Mária	Ave Mária
	The Benedictine

Bratstvo	Cirkevník
Bulletin of the Slovak National Council Abroad	Dennica
Čas	Dobrý pastier
Cirkevník	Fialky
Dennica	Floridský Slovák
Dobrý pastier	Hlas mládeže
Fialky	Jednota
Floridský Slovák	Jaro
Hlas mládeže	Kadet
Jednota	Katolícky sokol
Jaro	Listy Sv. Františka
Kadet	Ludové noviny
Katolícky sokol	The Lutheran Beacon
Listy Sv. Františka	Most
Ludové noviny	Národné noviny
The Lutheran Beacon	New Yorský denník
Most	Osadné hlasy
Národné noviny	Priateľ dietok
New Yorský denník	Rozhladky
Osadné hlasy	Sion
Priateľ dietok	Slovák v Amerike
Rozhladky	Slovak Eagle
Sion	Slovenská obrana
Slovák v Amerike	Slovenské noviny
Slovak Eagle	Slovenský hlásnik
Slovák Newsletter	Slovenský Kalvín
Slovenská obrana	Slovenský sokol
Slovenské noviny	Svedok
Slovenský hlásnik	Svornosť
Slovenský Kalvín	Ženská jednota
Slovenský sokol	Živena
Svedok	Zornička
Svornosť	Zrkadlo
Ženská jednota	1960
Živena	Ave Mária
Zornička	The Benedictine
Zrkadlo	Bratstvo
1959	Cirkevník
Ave Mária	Dennica
The Benedictine	Dobrý pastier
Bratstvo	Fialky
Čas	Floridský Slovák
	Hlas mládeže

Jednota	Národné noviny
Jaro	New Yorský denník
Kadet	Osadné hlasy
Katolícky sokol	Priateľ dietok
Listy Sv. Františka	Sion
Ludové noviny	Slovák v Amerike
The Lutheran Beacon	Slovak Eagle
Most	Slovenská obrana
Národné noviny	Slovenský hlásnik
New Yorský denník	Slovenský Kalvín
Osadné hlasy	Slovenský sokol
Priateľ dietok	Svedok
Sion	Svornosť
Slovák v Amerike	Ženská jednota
Slovak Eagle	Živena
Slovenská obrana	Zornička
Slovenský hlásnik	Zrkadlo
Slovenský Kalvín	1962
Slovenský sokol	Ave Mária
Svedok	The Benedictine
Svornosť	Bratstvo
Ženská jednota	Calvin (Pittsburgh, 1962-)
Živena	Cirkevník
Zornička	Dennica
Zrkadlo	Dobrý pastier
1961	Fialky
Ave Mária	Floridský Slovák
The Benedictine	Hlas mládeže
Bratstvo	Jednota
Cirkevník	Jaro
Dennica	Kadet
Dobrý pastier	Katolícky sokol
Fialky	Listy Sv. Františka
Floridský Slovák	Ludové noviny
Hlas mládeže	The Lutheran Beacon
Jednota	Most
Jaro	Národné noviny
Kadet	New Yorský denník
Katolícky sokol	Osadné hlasy
Listy Sv. Františka	Priateľ dietok
Ludové noviny	Sion
The Lutheran Beacon	Slovák v Amerike
Most	Slovak Eagle

Slovenská obrana	Zornička
Slovenský hlásnik	Zrkadlo
Slovenský Kalvín	
Slovenský sokol	1964
Svedok	Ave Mária
Svornost'	The Benedictine
United Lutheran (Pittsburgh, 1962-)	Bratstvo
Ženská jednota	Calvin
Živena	Cirkevník
Zornička	Dobrý pastier
Zrkadlo	Fialky
1963	Floridský Slovák
Ave Mária	Hlas mládeže
The Benedictine	Jednota
Bratstvo	Jaro
Calvin	Katolícky sokol
Cirkevník	Listy Sv. Františka
Dobrý pastier	Ludové noviny
Fialky	The Lutheran Beacon
Floridský Slovák	Most
Hlas mládeže	Národné noviny
Jednota	New Yorský denník
Jaro	Priateľ dietok
Katolícky sokol	Sion
Listy Sv. Františka	Slovák v Amerike
Ludové noviny	Slovak Eagle
The Lutheran Beacon	Slovenská obrana
Most	Slovenský sokol
Národné noviny	Svedok
New Yorský denník	Svornost'
Osadné hlasy	United Lutheran
Priateľ dietok	Ženská jednota
Sion	Živena
Slovák v Amerike	Zornička
Slovak Eagle	Zrkadlo
Slovenská obrana	1965
Slovenský sokol	Ave Mária
Svedok	The Benedictine
Svornost'	Bratstvo
United Lutheran	Calvin
Ženská jednota	Cirkevník
Živena	Dobrý pastier
	Fialky

Floridský Slovák		Naše hlasy
Hlas mládeže		Naše snahy
Jednota		New Yorský denník
Katolícky sokol		Priateľ dietok
Listy Sv. Františka		Sion
Ľudové noviny		Slovák v Amerike
The Lutheran Beacon		Slovak Eagle
Most		Slovenská obrana
Národné noviny		Slovenský sokol
Naše hlasy (Chicago, 1965-))	Svedok
Naše snahy (Chicago, 1965-))	Svornosť
New Yorský denník		United Lutheran
Priateľ dietok		Ženská jednota
Sion		Živena
Slovák v Amerike		Zornička
Slovak Eagle		Zrkadlo
Slovenské obrana		
Slovenský sokol		1967
Svedok		Ave Mária
Svornosť		The Benedictine
United Lutheran		Benedictine Bulletin
Ženská jednota		Bratstvo
Živena		Calvin
Zornička		Cirkevník
Zrkadlo		Dobrý pastier
		Fialky
1966		Floridský Slovák
Ave Mária		Hlas mládeže
The Benedictine		Jednota
Benedictine Bulletin		Katolícky sokol
Bratstvo		Listy Sv. Františka
Calvin		Ľudové noviny
Cirkevník		The Lutheran Beacon
Dobrý pastier		Most
Fialky		Národné noviny
Floridský Slovák		Naše hlasy
Hlas mládeže		Naše snahy
Jednota		New Yorský denník
Katolícky sokol		Priateľ dietok
Listy Sv. Františka		Sion
Ľudové noviny		Slovák v Amerike
The Lutheran Beacon		Slovak Eagle
Most		Slovenská obrana
Národné noviny		Sokol Times (Perth Amboy, N.J., 1967-)

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 Svornost'
 United Lutheran
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 Živena
 Zornička
 Zrkadlo

1968

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 The Benedictine
 Benedictine Bulletin
 Bratstvo
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 Cirkevník
 Dobrý pastier
 Fialky
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 Hlas mládeže
 Jednota
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 Ludové noviny
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 Slovák v Amerike
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 Zornička
 Zrkadlo
 Slovák v Amerike (New York,
 N.Y., 1968-1975)

Slovenská obrana
 Sokol Times
 Svedok
 Svornost'
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 Živena
 Zornička
 Zrkadlo

1969

Ave Mária
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 Zrkadlo

1970

Ave Mária
 The Benedictine
 Benedictine Bulletin
 Bratstvo
 Calvin
 Cirkevník
 Dobrý pastier
 Fialky

Floridský Slovák	Priateľ' dietok
Jednota	Sion
Katolícky sokol	Slovák v Amerike
Listy Sv. Františka	Slovak Eagle
Ľudové noviny	Slovak Press Digest
The Lutheran Beacon	Slovák a Svet (Chicago, 1971-72)
Most	Slovenská obrana
Národné noviny	Sokol Times
Naše hlasy	Svedok
Naše snahy	United Lutheran
New Yorský denník	Ženská jednota
Priateľ' dietok	Živena
Sion	Zornička
Slovák v Amerike	Zrkadlo
Slovak Eagle	
Slovak Press Digest	1972
Slovenská obrana	Ave Mária
Sokol times	The Benedictine
Svedok	Benedictine Bulletin
Svornosť	Bratstvo
United Lutheran	Calvin
Ženská jednota	Cirkevník
Živena	Dobrý pastier
Zornička	Floridský Slovák
Zrkadlo	Jednota
1971	Katolícky sokol
Ave Mária	Listy Sv. Františka
The Benedictine	Ľudové noviny
Benedictine Bulletin	Most
Bratstvo	Národné noviny
Calvin	Naše hlasy
Cirkevník	Naše snahy
Dobrý pastier	New Yorský denník
Floridský Slovák	Priateľ' dietok
Jednota	Sion
Katolícky sokol	Slobodná tribuna (New York, N.Y., 1972)
Listy Sv. Františka	Slovák v Amerike
Ľudové noviny	Slovak Eagle
Most	Slovak Press Digest
Národné noviny	Slovák a Svet
Naše hlasy	Slovenská obrana
Naše snahy	Sokol Times
New Yorský denník	Svedok

United Lutheran	Cirkevník
Ženská jednota	Dobrý pastier
Živena	Floridský Slovák
Zornička	Jednota
Zrkadlo	Katolícky sokol
1973	Listy Sv. Františka
Ave Mária	Ludové noviny
The Benedictine	Most
Benedictine Bulletin	Národné noviny
Bratstvo	Naše hlasy
Calvin	Naše snahy
Cirkevník	New Yorský denník
Dobrý pastier	Priateľ dietok
Floridský Slovák	Sion
Jednota	Slobodná Tribuna
Katolícky sokol	Slovák v Amerike
Listy Sv. Františka	Slovak Eagle
Ludové noviny	Slovak Press Digest
Most	Sokol Times
Národné noviny	Svedok
Naše hlasy	United Lutheran
Naše snahy	Ženská jednota
New Yorský denník	Živena
Priateľ dietok	Zornička
Sion	Zrkadlo
Slobodná tribuna	1975
Slovák v Amerike	Ave Mária
Slovak Eagle	The Benedictine
Slovak Press Digest	Benedictine Bulletin
Sokol Times	Bratstvo
Svedok	Calvin
United Lutheran	Cirkevník
Ženská jednota	Dobrý pastier
Živena	Floridský Slovák
Zornička	Jednota
Zrkadlo	Katolícky sokol
1974	Listy Sv. Františka
Ave Mária	Ludové noviny
The Benedictine	Most
Benedictine Bulletin	Národné noviny
Bratstvo	Naše hlasy
Calvin	Naše snahy
	New Yorský denník

Priateľ dietok	Sokol Times
Sion	Svedok
Slobodná tribuna	United Lutheran
Slovák v Amerike	Ženská jednota
Slovak Eagle	Živena
Slovak Heritage (Detroit, 1975-)	Zornička
Slovak Press Digest	Zrkadlo

LITERATURE

Excerpt from In Due Season (II)

BY PAUL WILKES

(Author's note: The year is 1899, the setting is a tiny, poor village in Eastern Slovakia.)

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Metod burst through the door. "Mama, Papa, Pán . . . Pán . . . Pán Vadasz. He's dead! I saw it right through the window." he said breathlessly.

"Quiet, son!" Kubo said, his finger in front of his mouth, "your brother is sleeping."

"Papa, Papa," the boy whispered, "Rezső said Pán Vadasz just got up from his bed and lay down on the floor . . . "

"I want no talk of death in this house," Kubo said sternly. "None!"

In those days, Vadasz was not the only one in the village of Zbudza to "lie between the beams," showing that they no longer hoped to be cured. They, who had come from the earth, in their fevered and aching state, wished to return, knowing that every day they lived they were a burden to those who hoped to survive. Every day they required tending — and there was precious little time for this — and they needed nourishment. In many houses the bread was already crumbly from too much bark.

In the next five days the somber bells of St. Joseph's tolled nine times; on one day three times, as the twins of Pani Gašparovičová's daughters died, one with the sunrise, the other just after the Angelus had rung. And before the sun set, Bánik fell from his stool at the front of his house, blood running from his mouth.

Although the villagers were not sure if Bánik had died from the cholera, he was buried along with the others in a shallow gully, far to the side of the cemetery. It had been set aside not for any health reason but for fear that the curse would somehow seep through the ground to infect the souls of villagers who now slept in peace.

In those five days Belo ate no food, drank no water, his eyes grew dry and sunken in his face, and his every breath was a struggle, as if some great hand were pressing on his chest. Kubo did not leave the boy's side and barely ate himself. Only on the sixth day, when Belo was too weak even to cry did Kubo leave, returning a short while later. He had borrowed Loebl's horse and was going to take the boy to the nearest doctor, in Plavnica, a trip of some ten hours. Loebl had a friend there, a rabbi, who kept the special medicines that Jews used, and he asked Kubo to bring something for someone in his house, sick with the croup.

Dušan, clenched teeth holding his pipe, fixed his eyes on Kubo. "You don't even know the way. What is this 'doktor' business? What do they know that we don't?"

The old woman moved her head slowly in assent. "When God calls, sinful humans must not hold on; it is His will. And that little one could die outside his own house . . . it is not right."

Zuzka said nothing. She pulled down another worn lambs-wool *guba* from the shelf above the bed and then her extra shawl. Into a small hemp sack she placed half a loaf of bread and an apple she had hidden away for the day that Belo would be well enough to eat it. Still without saying a word, she helped her husband bundle the child into the first *guba*, then the second, and tied the shawl into a sling around his shoulders.

Neither Dušan nor Helena, nor the old woman, would help him, nor even look in his direction.

About to leave, he said to their turned backs, "I ask for your prayers. Because if this child dies, I die."

Zuzka gasped, putting her hand to her mouth, and his mother made a sign of the cross, her eyes turned toward the heaven her son had just challenged.

As the first pellets of a freezing rain rattled against the windowpanes, Kubo rode into the black, moonless night. At first he

went slowly, to be sure the child was secure on his back, then he kicked at the sides of the brown mare. The rain stung his face, blinding him at times. In the cold damp air of the night he could smell the child, the sickly sour brown odor that covered Belo each time another issue of water gurgled from his trembling bottom. Kubo could barely hear his breathing, and once when he looked over his shoulder into the dark bundle, he could hear nothing. He pulled the horse to a halt and listened for the breathing. After a painful pause, Belo drew in some air.

By the time they reached the turnoff beyond the village of Svinné, the horse's nostrils were flared, its gait slowed to little more than a walk. On both sides of Kubo's neck the shawl had worn against his skin, leaving an angry red bruise, beginning to weep droplets of blood.

As the first gray light of morning began to outline the foothills and mighty Tatras beyond Kubo could see that he was approaching a town, for houses were closer and closer together. In the pale light he could see a low, sand-colored wall, covered with red tiles. At an opening in the wall a huge gateway marked with wrought iron twisted into the shapes of huge pheasants and flying geese, Kubo saw the town's *vartáš*.

"Plavnica?"

"Yes."

"Doktor Stofčík?"

One of the old man's eyes was frosted over, sightless, but the other eye regarded this strange rider with a huge bundle at his back, the collar of his jacket now soaked with blood.

"Past the church, on the right."

Kubo looked over his shoulder and finally, as faint as the whisper of a summer wind on a hot day, came the breath of the child.

"Sick one?"

"Yes," said Kubo, urging the horse over the cobblestones.

"From where?" the man called after him.

"Zbudza."

"Jesus and Mary! Go away!" he screamed. Zbudza! Oh my God!" Waving his hands, the man ran after the slowly moving horse.

He caught up with Kubo and ran alongside. "Go! Get out! You bring the plague. OUT!"

Kubo kicked at the sides of the horse, but the mare would not move faster. The old man grabbed at the horse's tail and yanked, ending up on the cobblestones with a handful of long hairs. Howling like a wounded animal, he rose and grabbed again, this time holding on as the horse pulled him along the bumpy street. Shutters banged open along the square and heads popped out into the damp morning air.

The old horse plodded on, slowed still more by his additional burden, past the church, past a row of houses the same color as the walls, each with a red-tile roof, and some with wooden signs hanging from wrought-iron posts. The old man let go of the tail and ran ahead to a house where a sign hung, stating: "*Doktor Stofčík*."

He stabbed at the air in Kubo's direction. "ZBUDZA! CHOLERA!" His voice resounded with stark terror down the narrow alley.

A man appeared, rubbed his eyes, then put a tiny pair of *okuliare* on his nose. His wife, a bonnet over her hair, a single long braid tumbling over her shoulders, tied to pull him back in.

"My son is ill," Kubo said calmly and with respect. "Some say it is the fever."

Lather dripped from the horse's mouth and steam rose from its back. Kubo, his wet hair plastered askew on his forehead, his hands trembling on the reins, painfully moved his neck to peer into the bundle and to listen once more.

"Haven't you heard, you fool?" the doctor shouted down to him. "Your village is infected. *Epidémia!* It's cholera! No one is to leave. Help is on the way, yes, go home. Get out, immediately."

"Go away! Leave us! Plague!" Other voices rained down upon the rider whose face was turned from them, transfixed on the dark opening in the *guba*.

The shouting became even louder, the curses stronger as the head of the rider slowly turned and looked up toward the doctor's window. It was only when the doctor put up his hands. "Quiet, everyone, stop it! Now you, go back; I cannot treat your child. You will spread the *epidémia* if you stay one instant longer."

Kubo's hands trembled uncontrollably. He dropped the reins and buried his face in the rain-soaked sleeve of his jacket. When he looked up to the window once again tears were streaming down his face.

"There is no need," he said, "any longer."

Kubo did not take the bundle from his back when he knocked on the door of the Jew Teitlebaum, nor did he say what it contained. He took the small vial of liquid, tucked it into his trousers, and mounted the horse. The Jew asked him if he wanted food or some dry clothes, but Kubo shook his head, paid him with Loeb'l's money, and turned the horse toward the village gate.

When Pani Spišáková came to the Vlášek house to prepare the child for burial, Kubo would not let her touch him. He asked for the special bowl used for bathing the dead and told her she could leave. His family watched in stunned silence as Kubo, saying no more, heated the water and with a soft linen cloth carefully washed the emaciated body. He took the small door from the grain bin and laid it between two benches and made a mattress of dry, fragrant straw. He dressed Belo in a fine white linen shirt, whose cuffs and collar Zuzka had embroidered in swirls of reds and yellows and blues, and laid him upon the straw.

He worked throughout the day and until the morning light to make the coffin, and when he brought it into the house the black lacquer and the dozens of tiny painted rosebuds and linden blossoms were still wet. He gently lifted the child, as if Belo were sleeping, and placed him within. He draped the fine lace coverlet, which had been made by his great-grandmother, over the boy, leaving only his arms and face, with neatly combed hair, showing.

In the coffin, Kubo carefully arranged the animals he had carved for Belo. Near the boy's face, three proud roosters, a pig, then a cow, a horse, a *vagónik*. The plow with a tiny piece of metal for a blade was pulled by the muscular ox and from its halter Kubo led the piece of twine under the coverlet, and wrapped it around the boy's cold, stiff hands.

His task completed, Kubo pulled up a chair beside the coffin and sat, the flickering candle lighting his face. Mourners came and touched him on the shoulder and offered their sympathies,

but he neither looked up from the still form in the black casket, nor did he talk.

When Father Slobodník entered on the morning of the third day, Kubo rose, genuflected before the priest and kissed his hand. Then he stood back, chin and cheeks dark with four days of growth, his eyes red but dry, his face so stricken with grief that not even his wife stood close to him as the old priest intoned the Latin prayers.

There was a soft rustle of wood against wood. Then the sharp metallic sound of Kubo's hammer on the iron nails pierced the silence. Again and again the hammer came down, sure and true, and the green wood squeaked as the nails penetrated it. Sniffles became sobs and sobs soon aching moans before the high-pitched wails of the women of Zbudza filled the room, mourning the child and venting the fear each had for his own life and soul.

Kubo carried the coffin in his arms toward the door, where he placed it on the doorstep three times before hoisting it to his shoulder. Then, as tradition dictated, Belo Vlášek, aged 18 months, left his house for the last time, feet first.

As Kubo had asked, Franko Hruščák had dug the grave at the farthest end of the area that had been marked off for the victims of the plague. Under a young linden tree, a freshly turned mound of the dark, damp soil, studded with the stones and rocks that were the bane of farmers, sat waiting to be returned to its rightful place.

The ropes slid on the muddy ground, barely leaving a mark as the slight, small box, no larger or heavier than a baby's cradle, was lowered into the hole. And one by one the people of Zbudza, from the smallest child to the eldest *stará matka* took handfulls of the moist dirt and threw it upon the coffin, each with the same ancient farewell: "That the earth will be light on you."

The last was Kubo. His hand reached to the mound and taking but a few granules of the soil, he stood above the dark hole. His hand trembled as it hovered over the grave, and slowly balled into a tight fist. The gumless lips of old mouths moved in prayer, sending puffs of white into the damp air, and children shuffled restlessly, looking at their parents for a sign they could leave. Zuzka's face was buried in her handkerchief, her muffled sobs closer and closer together, her shoulders shuddering.

Kubo's hand slowly tilted forward, and the dirt trickled through his fingers, falling soundlessly in to the grave. He stood there as if carved from stone, his open hand pleadingly outstretched as the mourners turned and began to walk back toward the village.

Soon everyone had left except Kubo and his family. Dušan placed his hands on his son's shoulder. "Come, they'll all be waiting at the *krčma* for us. Loebel's very thankful for what you, did. He pays for the wake."

"Soon, Father," Kubo said in a hoarse voice, his first words in three days.

"Don't linger, son, the soul must depart. If you stand here, it becomes as grief-stricken as you; the box will fill up with the child's tears and the ghost will return. The dead must bury the dead and life must go on."

"I want to be with him for just a little while yet."

"He's in a better place than us; you should be celebrating. Just think, he is well and pink and warm with Jesus and . . . "

Kubo looked up to his father with the bloodshot eyes, from which no more tears could be wrung, his face like ashes in the blacksmith's forge. Dušan gathered the family and started down the hill.

By the time Kubo walked through the door of the *krčma*, voices were already loud and thick with *pálenka*, and old adversaries had found a new battle to wage.

"We must send word to Bardejov, to Prešov; we need medicine, a *doktor* immediately," the *richtár* said, his finger stabbing at the smoky air. "Soon we'll all be dead of this thing, snuffed out like a hill of ants in a forest fire."

"We pay our taxes to you, you thief, and what the hell do we get when we need help?" said Dušan, as he downed a large glass of beer. "You go! Now!"

"Don't call me a thief, Vlášek. If you . . . "

"Father, I want to speak to you."

Kubo's voice was firm and strong, louder than he normally spoke, and the men who were talking at the tables turned toward him.

"Well, speak, son, we have no secrets here."

Kubo's eyes moved from man to man, then rested on his father. "I made a decision at my son's grave. No more of my children are going to be buried on that hill. Belo is the last."

"For generations this is our resting place; where else is there, son? Please, don't speak now, your heart is still too heavy."

"I'm going to *Amerika*."

As if a gong had been sounded, silence descended on the *krčma*. Dušan rose to his feet.

"Don't confront your father as you are doing, not even on a day so sad as this one."

Kubo's eyes did not blink. He did not look down.

"You're my son, my heir, you share my roof. You will do my bidding."

"I'm an heir to sickness and death and hunger and I want none of them."

A low murmur of voices rippled through the room.

"This isn't the time, son; besides, there is a tax and they mean to collect it these days. And fare. They don't take you for free on the boat."

"There's no better time, Father. I'll get the money somehow."

"I, who gave you life; this is my thanks? To spit in my face in front of the whole village, to take away my pride like this?"

"I thank you for my life and I thank all of you for every kindness to me, to Zuzka, my children. I'm not going to this *Amerika* forever; I'll come back someday and we'll again have land and food and live like humans, not some animals scraping for every morsel of food."

"To *Amerika*, eh?" A bitter smile tugged at the corners of Dušan's mouth. "Just like you went to Perun's Wood with the cows. Reaching for too much. Remember what happened then?"

Kubo's large brown eyes blinked. For an instant he had to turn from his father's hard stare. "You hit below the belt, Father." He fingered the rim of his *klobuk*, which he held in his hands. "But I have to try," he said, returning his father's look.

Dušan's body sagged, his chest heaved, and he sighed aloud. "I asked but one thing, son, all my life, and that is for you to bury me on that hill. This is too much? As you loved your Beličko I loved you. And now, this . . . "

“It’s not too much to ask, but I have to go.”

“Then who’s going to bury me? Who is going to tend the graves of your children?”

In the back of the *krčma* Anastázia’s eyes were bright, expectant. She leaned forward on the bench so as not to miss a single word.

“I must live, my family must live. In your own words and the words of the Holy Scripture, God will tend to the graves. And the dead will bury the dead.”

REVIEWS

Historický časopis, 33, 2 (1985). "K vel'komoravskému výročiu." Bratislava: Veda, 1985.

Anna Hollá. *Metod - učitel' Slovienov. K 1100 výročiu úmrtia (885-1985)*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1985.

THEODORIC J. ZUBEK, O.F.M.
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As the year 1985 approached, Slovak Christians both in Czechoslovakia and abroad wondered in what manner the 1,100th anniversary of the death of St. Methodius would be observed in Slovakia. The two publications under review provide partial answers to that question.

Historický časopis, the official organ of the Ústav historických vied Slovenskej akadémie vied, devoted an entire issue to the "Great Moravian Anniversary." In their introduction, the editors concede that Methodius was "the most important personality in the cultural history of Great Moravia." Further, they note that "Marxist historiography values highly the work of Constantine and Methodius, who laid the foundations for the development of Slavic literature, which thereafter prevailed among the majority of the South and East Slavs." However, they also maintain that although Marxist historiography cannot overstate the importance of these two men, it cannot view them only as "evangelizers of the faith."

The cultural elements of the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage are, of course, undeniable. But it is equally undeniable that that legacy also — and primarily — includes tremendous *religious* significance for the Slavs in general and the Slovaks in particular. What this reviewer finds especially objectionable in this issue of *Historický časopis* is the attempt to minimize the importance of the evangelical activity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius and to neglect the religious dimensions of their work. The cultural achievements of the saintly brothers were the result of their primary goal: to complete the Christianization of the Slavic peoples. This main goal of their mission is never properly recognized by the authors, and the names of Sts. Cyril and Methodius are never mentioned with their title of reverence, "Saint." Furthermore, not a single arti-

cle is devoted specifically to St. Methodius in what is supposed to be a commemoration of the anniversary of his death!

The first article, by Matúš Kučera, assesses Great Moravia and the beginnings of Slovak national history. Although Kučera writes extensively about the era of Rastislav and Svatopluk, he fails to mention Sts. Cyril and Methodius by name as the founders of Christian civilization among the ancestors of the Slovaks.

In his article on “fictions and facts” concerning the territorial development of Great Moravia, Peter Ratkoš refutes the claims of Imre Boba and other historians that the territory of Great Moravia was situated around the Morava River in Serbia. According to Ratkoš, Sirmium was probably not the actual see of Archbishop Methodius, because at that time Sirmium belonged to Bulgaria.

Richard Marsina examines the diplomatic documents relating to the history of Great Moravia and their value as sources. He acknowledges the authenticity of seventeen diplomatic texts, mostly the preserved letters of Popes Adrian II, John VIII, Stephen V, and John IX, and eighteen lost documents (*deperdita*) mentioned in the authentic diplomatic papers and other reliable historical sources.

The article which deals the most with St. Cyril is the one by Alexander Avenarius on the contribution of Byzantium to Great Moravian culture. The author explains St. Cyril's philosophy, classifies him as a liberal in his opposition to iconoclasm, and places him in the camp of the liberal patriarch Photius. Avenarius also describes the influence of Byzantine monasticism in Bohemia and Slovakia after the death of Svatopluk.

The last two articles are not directly concerned with the work of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Bohuslav Chropovský and Alexander Ruttkay evaluate the most recent archeological excavations and situate geographically the extent of the Slovak ethnic group. Finally, Rudolf Krajčovič examines the very complicated issue of language in Great Moravia and its continuity with Slovak.

The publication of the *Matica slovenská*, *Metod - učitel' Slovienov*, is more germane to the commemoration of St. Methodius' anniversary than the articles in the *Historický časopis* issue. It contains nineteen pages of printed text by Anna Hollá and thirty-two photographic reproductions of archeological findings from the

Great Moravian era, copies of some Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts, and newer Slovak literary and pictorial works related to Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

Hollá's brief survey of St. Methodius and the whole Cyril-Methodian legacy in Czechoslovakia is a popular version based on contemporary scholarship. It reflects, not surprisingly, the distortions of present official Marxist historiography concerning the Great Moravian period. Hollá characterizes Great Moravia as the first state common to the Czechs and Slovaks; and she emphasizes the cultural, social, and political activity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius and excludes or minimizes their missionary efforts.

Hollá's assertion that Great Moravia was the first joint state of the Czechs and Slovaks is of dubious historical validity. By military force Svatopluk occupied the adjacent Slavic territories, among them Bohemia, and annexed them to his realm, but he did not incorporate them organically into Great Moravia. After his death in 894, the people in these occupied territories hastened to separate themselves from Great Moravia, searching for independence or joining new political alliances. The annexation of Bohemia to Great Moravia lasted less than twenty years, and after Svatopluk's death the Czechs found themselves again in the orbit of the Eastern Frankish (German) Empire.

This reviewer must also take exception to Hollá's statement that "The basis of the missionary work of Constantine and Methodius in the Great Moravian Empire was their legal work, by which they eradicated Frankish church law and the unwritten common law of Great Moravia and substituted for it a strong legal order" (p. 6). As has been mentioned, the basis of the Cyril-Methodian mission was the evangelization of the Slavs. Sts. Cyril and Methodius did not eliminate the church law which had been brought to the territory of Great Moravia by Irish-Scottish, Aquilean (Italian), and Bavarian missionaries; and they did not abolish the unwritten indigenous laws as long as they did not deviate from either Latin or Byzantine church and civil laws.

In conclusion, the jubilee issue of *Historický časopis* and the text by Anna Hollá in the Matica slovenská publication suffer from gross deficiencies and omissions which stem from the anti-religious bias of official Marxist historiography toward the legacy

of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Only the Matica slovenská publication, with its well-selected, beautiful reproductions, can in a sense be considered as a tribute to the memory of St. Methodius in Slovakia.

Július Sopko. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach. (Stredoveké kódexy slovenskej proveniencie, I).* Martin: Matica slovenská, 1981. 304 pp.

Július Sopko. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej provenien-
cie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku. (Stredoveké kódexy sloven-
skej proveniencie, II).* Martin: Matica slovenská, 1982. 400 pp.

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This two-volume catalogue of codices comprises a listing of all extant medieval manuscripts produced on Slovak territory. Most were written in Latin and are similar to those found throughout medieval Europe. The subject matter pertains, for the most part, to religious faith and practice, and philosophy. Bibles, missals, antiphonaries, graduals, chant collections, sermons and related bilingual dictionaries, rules of a religious order, commentaries on religious topics, and philosophical studies are the kinds of writings found in these manuscripts. Occasionally among them are "secular" — non-religious or philosophical — texts, such as *Gesta Romanorum* (Feats of the Romans), *Chronicon Dubnicense* (The History of Dubnica), or *Codex Justinianus: Digesta — Excerpta* (Justinian's Law Code: Summaries and Excerpts). Some of these manuscripts are preserved in Slovak archival repositories, while others are found in Hungary and Romania.

In the two introductions of the first volume in Slovak and Latin, Sopko considers briefly the emergence and development of libraries and scriptoria on Slovak territory as well as the history of manuscript collections and their present status. He discusses the role of certain religious orders in the execution and collection of such manuscripts; among these are the Benedictines, Fran-

ciscans, Dominicans, Cistercians, Carthusians, and Premonstratensians (also known as Norbertines). Sopko also mentions the significant activity of the cathedral chapters in Nitra, Bratislava, and Spiš that fostered the composing of manuscripts.

Thirteen Slovak areas are listed as locations of repositories for such manuscripts: Banska Bystricá, Bardejov, Bratislava, Dolný Kubín, Jasov, Kežmarok, Kősice, Kremnica, Martin, Nitra, Prešov, Spišská Kapitula, and Spišské Vlachy.

These cities and towns, institutions in Bratislava and Kremnica contain the overwhelming majority of the 200 medieval manuscripts found on Slovak territory today. In Bratislava, the cathedral chapter library alone contains 82 such codices of the 135 found in the 6 repositories of this city. In Kremnica, the parish library contains 25 of 26 medieval codices in the city. In the second volume, 86 of 88 manuscripts preserved in Hungary are found in Budapest; the remaining 130 of the total 418 listed in the two volumes are found in Alba Julia, Romania, in the former Batthyány library collection.

In his introductions Sopko mentions the art of manuscript illumination that was well developed on Slovak territory. He includes at the end of both volumes photographic reproductions of some manuscripts, usually rendered in color, many of which also exemplify the art of illumination. One of the outstanding examples of manuscript writing and illumination is the "Bratislava Missal," which today is preserved in Alba Julia, Romania, as part of the former Batthyány library collection. This missal is described in the second volume of the catalogue (#400), and a color reproduction of one of its folio pages can be found at the end among the supplementary illustrations. (A book that presents the illumination aspect of medieval manuscripts in the Slovak area and that would complement this catalogue well is *Stredoveká knižná mal'ba na Slovensku* by Alžbeta Güntherová and Ján Mišianik published in two editions [1961 and 1977] by Tatran of Bratislava.) Sopko concludes each of the volumes with four lists: concordance of signatures, dated codices, first words of a codex, and a name and topic index.

This two-volume catalogue by Sopko is primarily aimed at libraries and specialists in medieval culture and history. It presents

well the scholarly work that is often produced under the auspices of the Matica slovenská.

Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238-1350), I. Edited by L'ubomír Juck. Bratislava: Veda, 1984. 199 pp.

Národnostný vývoj miest na Slovensku do roku 1918. K 600. výročiu vydania výsad pre žilinských Slovákov Edited by Richard Marsina. Martin: Osveta, 1984. 275 pp.

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These two volumes reflect the breadth and depth of Slovak historical urban studies. They are both welcome additions to the growing body of scholarship on the history of urban life in Slovakia in the late medieval and early modern eras.

The first, “Privileges of the Cities and Towns in Slovakia (1238-1350)” was prepared as part of a long-term project planned by the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences during the 1950’s and early 1960’s which set as its goal the editing and publication of historical documents from the earliest eras of Slovak history. This volume is the first dealing specifically with the charters and grants of legal privileges made to the emerging cities during the High Middle Ages, primarily by Hungarian monarchs. Information concerning the documents which have disappeared and/or the texts of those preserved were drawn from materials in the archives of Slovakia and throughout Central Europe. The volume begins with a general introduction indicating the methodological principles utilized in preparing it and some general comments on the types of documents included. The bulk of the book is devoted to a catalogue, in chronological order, of all the grants of privileges discovered; a brief description of their contents and context in Slovak; the text of the document, in so far as it is known in the original language of composition, Latin; and finally a listing of the provenance of each document. As such, this volume provides a fascinating and accessible entrance into

the historical development of the cities and towns which emerged on the territory of modern-day Slovakia during the High Middle Ages. They show that the economic strength of the towns grew in conjunction with the grants of economic and political privileges extended to them by the Hungarian monarchs. The towns sought to develop and protect their economic basis, manufacture, and trade by securing from the kings extensive rights of self-administration and governance.

The second volume, “Nationality Development of Cities in Slovakia to the Year 1918,” is a collection of essays arranged according to the three thematic sections of the book: “Nationality Development in Žilina”; “Nationality Development in the Towns of Slovakia”; and “Nationality Development in Czech and Moravian Towns in the Middle Ages.” However, despite the title, all but four of the sixteen studies treat the medieval and early modern periods. In the first section Marsina himself analyzes the privileges given to the Slovaks in Žilina in 1381; Július Sopko attempts to identify the various individuals who made entries into the city record book of Žilina; Izidor Kotulič evaluates the language of the Žilina record book and other historical documents in Slovak; and Rudolf Kuchár examines the family names which appear in the Žilina record book. The studies of Peter Stanský on the structuring of nationalities in Žilina up to 1918 and of Pavol Hapák on the economic life and workers movement in Žilina during the last half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries conclude the section devoted specifically to the history of Žilina.

In the second section Ferdinand Uličný investigates the national groupings within the medieval cities of Slovakia; Ján Dorul'a examines the use of Slovak in the cities between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries; Anton Špiesz provides an analysis of Slovak artisan activity during the so-called later feudal period, the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries; and Jozef Vozař evaluates the relationship between ethnic groups in the so-called *montana* or mining cities of central Slovakia during the same era. Ivan Chalupecký provides an analysis of ethnic relationships in the towns of Spiš county for the century between 1550 to 1650, and Jana Skladaná examines the oldest city books in Bánovce nad Bebravou, dating from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth

centuries. Milan Podrimavský concludes this section with an examination of the cities in Slovakia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The third section is made up of just three essays: František Šmahel's review of findings and perspectives of the research into ethnic relationships in Bohemian cities during the Late Middle Ages (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries); Ludmila Sulitková's investigation of the ethnic relationships in the Moravian cities, especially the royal cities, during the Late Middle Ages; and Josef Žemlička's essay on the countryside, ethnicity, and the late medieval Bohemian cities.

While it is impossible to examine these essays individually, it should be noted that not only do they reveal how much urban studies have come to dominate Slovak late medieval/early modern history research, but also the complexities of ethnic relationships in Slovakia during the same era. Slovaks took an active, if not always an appreciated, role in the life of the cities of Slovakia during the Middle Ages and were, especially but not merely in the smaller towns, significant in their economic and political life. It is to be hoped that these volumes will encourage American scholars to become much more active in more fully investigating late medieval and early modern Slovak history.

Juraj Žudel. *Stolice na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Obzor, 1984. 200 pp.

R. VLADIMIR BAUMGARTEN
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This book was written to provide a general history of the counties of Slovakia until 1849, when a modern centralized administration was imposed by Imperial decree in the so-called "Bach era". It may consequently be subtitled "Patterns of Feudalism". Žudel summarizes characteristics common to all the Slovak districts, and then depicts both individual and regional peculiarities. The main theme is an analysis of the evolution of the counties under the feudal order. In the introductory section, Žudel points out that originally individual Slovak counties had

their own codes of law, but in all cases, in greater or lesser measure, these were eventually supplanted by more centralized government.

Particular mention is made of the efforts of the Habsburgs, especially in the case of the Josephine reforms of the eighteenth century, to provide a uniform code of law for Hungary. These endeavors were only partially successful, and many of them were undone following the death of the King-Emperor in 1790. Only in the aftermath of the 1848 revolution was it possible for enduring institutions of modern government to be established. Žudel points out that the 1848 experience may be characterized as a "conflict of popular sovereignty". The Hungarian revolutionary leader Lajos Kossuth sought to protect the jealously-guarded privileges of individual counties, while at the same time using them as instruments of Magyarization in Upper Hungary. By contrast, the more conservative Hungarian reformer Istvan Széchenyi considered the county structure as antiquated, yet he opposed forced Magyarization.

The archival sources consulted by the author are listed at the end of the introductory section, and a more general bibliography is included at the conclusion of the text. Žudel's introduction is followed by a survey of each individual county. These surveys include a summary of the territorial boundaries of each administration, the patterns of settlement and habitation, agricultural conditions, and cultural traditions. In cases where a county has been inhabited by more than one ethnic group, an additional section concerning ethnic relations is added.

Although Žudel's presentation summarizes the counties in alphabetical order, any attempts at comparison and contrast are best served by examining the counties from a regional perspective. Two of the counties — Bratislava and Abaúj — contained Slovakia's major metropolitan centers. In the case of the western county Bratislava, Žudel stresses its strategic location at the point where the Morava and Danube rivers converge. This location guaranteed that Bratislava was affected by the Hussite invasion. The author also mentions the presence of a Croatian element since the time of the Turkish wars. In the case of Abaúj, which contains the eastern metropolis, Žudel indicates that the city of Košice

was noteworthy for its traditionally oligarchical form of government.

The southern Slovak counties of Gemer, Hont, Komárno, and Novohrad had the common denominators of all being ethnically mixed areas, plus serving as frontier zones in the Habsburg-Ottoman wars. Much the same treatment is accorded to Ostrihom, although the author also cites the latter for its significance in the Catholic Counterreformation.

In the case of northern counties the author mentions that Liptov had lingering anti-feudal traditions, and also served as a stronghold for Slovak nationalism. Orava, in spite of its close geographic proximity to Liptov, evolved in the more traditional feudal pattern.

Among central counties Nitra is particularly noted for having had a state organization which pre-dated the kingdom of Hungary; Tekov and Trenčín are treated in a similar manner. In the case of the latter, Žudel also mentions the importance of the city of Žilina as a center of Slovak trade with the Czech lands, Silesia, and Prussia. Zvolen is noteworthy for its strategic location in defense of the fertile lowlands of southern Slovakia; the author also mentions the influence of the Czech immigration following the Thirty Years War. Turiec is especially noted for having separated itself from Rakoczi's rising in the early eighteenth century. The author might have given this event more than passing treatment had he chosen to do so.

The eastern counties of Slovakia present some of the most noteworthy peculiarities of all. Mention is made of the fact that the Hungarian king Sigismund mortgaged certain cities of Spiš to Poland in the fifteenth century; they were returned to Hungary in the eighteenth. In spite of the fact that Šariš was a major focal point for the Magyarization campaign, Žudel points out that the native Slovak nobility played a prominent role in public life. In the case of Zemplín county, the author mentions that the nobles long maintained a sense of autonomy, and consequently supported the Transylvanian rebels in the latter's struggle against the Habsburgs.

Žudel also briefly summarizes the history of less "traditional" Slovak countries. After World War II much of the territory of Už

county was transferred to the Ukrainian S.S.R., and the population of the area is today classified as Ukrainian. Žudel, however, mentions the role of the Slovak element in siding with the Hungarian nobles against their Habsburg kings. Turňa is treated as an extension of Abaj county (with which it was long affiliated), although the influence of political patterns emanating from Gemer is also mentioned.

In his concluding chapter Žudel summarizes administrative realignments dating from Bach's regime in the 1850s. Since the terms *stolica* and *župa* are often used interchangeably, the author makes a distinction here between *velžupa*, containing more than one *stolica*, and *župa*, constituting a single district. This distinction is an important one, and the author would have served his readers better by mentioning it in the earlier portion of the text.

Although the text conveys the ideological spirit common to contemporary Czechoslovakia, the historical facts are presented in a straightforward manner. Žudel points out that contemporary Hungarian Marxist historiography is more favorably disposed towards Slovak demographic claims in Upper Hungary, and he makes liberal use of Hungarian source materials.

The major weakness of the book lies less in what is said than in what remains unsaid. In reference to Abaj county, Žudel cites the Mongol invasion as a determining factor in population distribution; he fails to mention that Košice was temporarily transferred to the jurisdiction of Transylvania by the Treaty of Linz in 1645. One especially glaring contradiction is found in the case of Šariš. The author mentions a "pestilential epidemic" in the eighteenth century, but no mention is made of the cholera epidemic which convulsed Šariš and other eastern Slovak counties in 1831. Since the latter event was accompanied by a peasant rising which greatly undermined feudal society, the omission is a particularly serious one.

For the student who is already well-grounded in Slovak history, *Stolice* presents little that is original. But it serves as an adequate text within the limits which have been mentioned, and is especially useful as a reference guide to the individual districts.

*Tvorcovia nového Slovenska/The Shaping of Modern Slovakia.
Festschrift to the Seventieth Birthday of Dr. Joseph A. Mikuš.
Edited by Joseph Staško. Cambridge, Canada: Friends of Good
Books, 1982. xv. 271 pp.*

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This collection of articles by Imrich Kružliak, Joseph Staško, Joseph M. Kirschbaum, František Vnuk, and the celebrant can be looked upon from two different perspectives.

The first is readily apparent. Kružliak's interpretive account of Slovak history from 1918 to 1948; Staško's soul-searching reflections on the meaning of the Slovak national heritage; Kirschbaum's examination of Slovak student organizations and their aims in the interwar period; and Vnuk's analysis of Slovak diplomacy before the Salzburg event of 1940 all have one common denominator: either the role played by, or the contemporary views held by, Joseph A. Mikuš. Mikuš's own article, "The International System in Transition," is a study of the moral and legal principles underlying the present system of (sovereign or not) states and nations, as well as an application and projection into the future of his own ideas, summarized by the view that "not territorially defined states, particularly multinational structures or empires, but nations in the ethnic and cultural sense are the real members of the international community."

The other perspective becomes more apparent only after one has finished reading the book. With the exception of Vnuk, the authors have all by now reached, or almost reached, their seventieth birthdays. They are all well-known émigré writers, political commentators, and interpreters of the Slovak cultural heritage. And — again perhaps with the exception of Vnuk — all the contributions are representative of the particular author's "Slovak creed." They read as a personal legacy to the generation to follow. No Slovak intellectual of the younger generation can afford to ignore what they have to say. Politically and territorially, of course, there is only one Slovakia. But spiritually and culturally there is

also an alternative Slovakia, a Slovakia that many of us in the West (as well as some non-conformists in Slovakia) are proud to belong to, a Slovakia that would be unthinkable without its pioneers, and now seniors, like Mikuš and Staško, Kirschbaum, and Kružliak. Thus it seems to me that — at least from the point of view of the new generation — the title of the book should have been something like “The Shape of a Slovakia We are Inheriting,” meaning the spiritual and cultural shape of unofficial Slovakia forced to “live in exile.”

To summarize: If one cannot read Slovak, it might be preferable to obtain just a reprint of Mikuš’s English article rather than buy the whole book. But if one can read Slovak and is interested in Slovak matters, this book is a must.

Slovak Politics: Essays on Slovak History in honour of Joseph M. Kirschbaum. Edited by Stanislav J. Kirschbaum. Cleveland-Rome: Slovak Institute, 1983. xviii, 381 pp.

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This *Festschrift* dedicated to Joseph M. Kirschbaum offers nine articles on various political themes from Slovak history ranging from 1882 to about 1948. It includes a brief appraisal of the celebrant’s life and his contribution to Slovak politics by Charles Murin and a “select bibliography” of Kirschbaum’s publications written in exile.

In the first article Edita Bosak deals with Czech-Slovak relations from 1882 to 1914, focusing on the student organization Detvan in Prague. Bosak sees Detvan “as a springboard and nursery for the young Slovak intelligentsia” as opposed to the “conservative Martin leadership.” Although she admits that “the amount of co-operation between Detvan and the Czechs was limited,” she recognizes the resulting journal *Hlas* as “progressive,” giving “wide distribution to many of the ideas that the students had already worked out in the debates in Detvan,

especially the idea of Czech-Slovak reciprocity."

A comprehensive and unbiased study of Milan Hodža and his original political thinking (contrasted by his often controversial political associations that ended so sadly) is still missing from Slovak political literature. The article by Susan Mikula comes a long way toward such a study, but unfortunately it does not go beyond the year 1914. Still, her account of Hodža's Belvedere orientation and his attitude toward Magyars and Czechs seems to support those political thinkers who see him as the harbinger of contemporary Slovak aspirations toward Central European, or Danubian, Confederation.

The contribution by Manfred Alexander is based on a study of the reports from the German Mission in Prague to the Foreign Office of the German Reich from 1918 to 1921. It contains over fifty pages of original documents related to Slovakia, published for the first time. Somehow, the documents make more interesting reading than the article itself. At least in one place the author's conclusions are hard to follow: It is true that Document 13 illustrates in many details the fact that Czech anti-clericalism was at the core of early Czech-Slovak frictions; and that it was the Catholic priests in Slovakia who raised the alarm, and often over-reacted. But it seems to be a rather sweeping statement to claim that this is "valuable information indicating that the efforts made by the Slovak people to obtain autonomy did not originate spontaneously but were stirred up through agitation."

Stanislav J. Kirschbaum's study of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party should certainly be read in conjunction with the German documents referred to above, especially by a non-specialist. It throws light on some points raised in the preceding article, and its systematic and more detached account well complements the subjectiveness and immediacy of the documents.

The constitution of the Slovak Republic is analyzed by Karin Schmid. She comes to some mixed conclusions, perhaps best expressed in her own words: "If we consider every aspect of the Slovak Constitution — especially the role of the party on one hand, and on the other the control of the government by Parliament (although Parliament itself, in turn, was composed of only one party) — a comparison with what is known as 'socialist democracy'

suggests itself. It is tempting, on the model of this concept, to coin the term 'fascist democracy.' However, if we wish to avoid jargon and if we bear in mind that fascism completely rejects the concept of democracy, then the Slovak system can be best described as an authoritarian system with rather surprising democratic features."

Lisa Guarda Nardini examines President Tiso's political program. The person of Dr. Jozef Tiso, more so than the Slovak Republic as such, symbolizes the Slovak tragedy during and after World War II: After forty years, most Slovaks are by now resigned to the fact that, given all the circumstances, there was not much chance for the six years of the Slovak Republic to end differently. But only a few will maintain that Dr. Tiso did not deserve a better fate, a fairer treatment and trial, and less prejudice connected with his place in Slovak history. The article and its discerningly apologetic tone have to be seen in this light.

To a certain extent, the same atmosphere permeates the next article on the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic by Milan S. Ďurica. Of special interest is the section on relations with the Holy See. Ďurica does not hesitate to state explicitly that "the sharpest dispute between the Slovak Government and the Vatican arose over the Jewish question."

Stanislav J. Kirschbaum tackles the extremely complicated and controversial Slovak revolt of 1944. He points out two options that the Slovaks faced by the end of World War II. The first was "to remain true to their state" not excluding "the taking of whatever means were necessary, including changing the regime and the political system" and hoping that "the victorious powers would realize that independence was indeed what the nation desired." The second option was to return to the Czechoslovak Republic. He is realistic enough to admit that the first option called for an acute sense of timing, exceptional diplomacy, faith on the part of people, and above all capable leadership at the top. But even given the second option, Kirschbaum observes that "had Beneš not been so prejudiced against the Slovaks, but rather had taken into account the evolution of the Slovak nation . . . much of the tragedy that befell the Slovak people from 1944 on might have been avoided."

František Vnuk elaborates on this theme in his article on Slovak-Czech relations between 1945 and 1948. It describes the situation and events in Slovakia prior to February 1948, and it makes very sad reading. As one has come to expect from Vnuk, it is thoroughly documented. But it is also concise and comprehensive enough to be recommended to all — notably younger generation Slovaks, but also Czechs — who wish to understand the reasons behind Slovak resentments and political distrust of their Czech neighbors.

In this reviewer's opinion, there is an increasing need for a comprehensive, critical study of Slovak political history from 1918 to 1968 written by a younger generation of scholars free of the compulsion either to fit that story into prescribed ideological frames or to justify *a posteriori* one's own role or moral position. The publication under review has perhaps so far come closest to fulfilling that need.

František Vnuk. *Životopis Konštantína Čulena*. Cleveland: Slovak Institute, 1984. 247 pp.

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For several years I have been trying to persuade several important Slovak figures representing different political persuasions to write their memoirs, to give us an intimate perspective on their youth, their education, and the development of their careers. Each of the three has resisted, perhaps fearing that to write memoirs means to declare one's public life to be over. This is unfortunate because when I have stumbled onto memoir material, such as a dozen unpublished essays by as many interwar and wartime Slovak journalists, they have been a rich mine of information that their authors could never have realized would be so important.

Other than oral interviews, the second best source of personal information is the biography. From that perspective, this book about Konštantín Čulen is to be welcomed. Published with the

support of Slovak-American activist Ján Beliansky a dozen years after completion of the manuscript, it traces the career of the headstrong Slovak publicist, amateur historian, diplomat, government official and émigré journalist. The author draws on his twenty-year correspondence with Čulen, Čulen's autobiographical "Posedenia," published in the early 1960s, and 15 short chapters that were parts of Čulen's various unsuccessful efforts to write an autobiography.

Vnuk makes no claim that this is a careful, complete, or scholarly biography. Nor does he promise any neutral and objective point-of-view, stating in the opening pages his respect and admiration for Čulen.

Vnuk asserts that the heart of the work is the last section — which describes Čulen's work in exile — because it is the period he knows best. The historian will disagree. It is the first part (describing his youth and education) and to a lesser degree the second part (describing his twenty-year career in Slovakia) that more effectively transport the reader into the life of the periods they describe. This is so because it is precisely for those periods that Čulen provided more of his own testimony about his life and times. We are reminded, for instance, that even though their eventual political views became quite different, many members of the Slovak intelligentsia initially were good friends of each other. Among Čulen's early friends were such a diverse group as Vladimír Clementis, Július Šefránek, Ján Golián, Ferdinand Jurgia, and Florian Tománek. There are several references, too, to how important connections — Slovak or Czech — were in finding gainful employment.

Particularly interesting is Vnuk's description of Čulen's short career as a writer and reporter for *Slovák*, the daily Hlinkist organ. As with other institutions of the Slovak People's Party, the newspaper staff reflected the splits among the different wings of the party. Eventually the splits led to Čulen's dismissal from the staff. It foreshadowed his later ouster from the Slovak Government in July, 1940.

The tragedy of Čulen is that these divisions continued in emigration, and because he continued to be first and foremost a publicist, he became their victim. Despite a decade of service to

the Slovak press in North America, he was eventually forced out of all fulltime work in that area. During the last few years, Vnuk reports, Čulen struggled to find gainful employment, eventually winding up as superintendent of a Brooklyn apartment house. He died in 1964.

Miroslav Kropilák a kolektív. *Dejiny Slovenska V (1918-1945)*.

Bratislava: Veda, 1985. 612 pp.

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It would be hard to find a quarter century in Slovak history more eventful than the period from 1918 to 1945. These years saw the creation, destruction, and re-creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the emergence and disappearance of an independent Slovak state, a great economic crisis, and a world war. In this fifth volume of the new *Dejiny Slovenska*, a team of Slovak Marxist scholars provides the most extensive and detailed discussion of this period available in any language.

Dejiny Slovenska V is composed of two parts. The first covers Slovakia within the interwar Czechoslovak Republic; the second deals with the Slovak state and World War II. Each part is divided into chronologically based chapters, which in turn contain sub-chapters on themes like politics, foreign affairs, economics, social unrest, and developments within the Communist Party. In analyzing the interwar period, the authors focus on the so-called Slovak Question, that is, the place of Slovakia and the Slovak nation in a Czechoslovak state. This question involves a complex of political, economic, social, and cultural factors that gave rise to tensions between Slovaks and Czechs. The Czechoslovak government's failure to ease these tensions contributed mightily to the shape that the First Republic's demise took in 1938-39. In discussing this failure, the authors contend that only the Communist Party was capable of solving the problems that caused social and national dissatisfaction in Slovakia.

The authors consider Slovak discontent as essentially a product of the "bourgeois-democratic, capitalist system" of the First

Republic, with the Czech bourgeoisie as the main perpetrators of this discontent. This ruling class is accused of economically exploiting Slovakia, repressing manifestations of Slovak dissatisfaction, and ruling the country on the basis of centralism, with a complete disregard for Slovakia's special conditions and problems. To help rule Slovakia, this "ruling Czech bourgeoisie" fostered the idea of Czechoslovakism, that is, the notion that the Slovaks were not a distinct nation but rather members of a Czech-dominated "Czechoslovak" nation. The authors sharply criticize Czechoslovakism, which they see as a reactionary ideology serving only to fan the flames of Slovak nationalism and to hamper Czechoslovak state unity in the face of the external threats of the 1930s.

As allies of the "ruling Czech bourgeoisie," the so-called centralist parties in Slovakia, above all the Social Democrats and the Agrarians, come under attack in this volume. The Social Democrats are strongly criticized for their so-called reformist approach to Slovakia's social and economic ills, for placing the interests of the state ahead of the interests of the working class, and for staunchly supporting centralism and Czechoslovakism. The Agrarians are reproached for similar reasons, including an economic policy that favored the rural middle class of the expense of the working class and poorer peasants. The authors indeed point out that many Slovak Agrarians were lukewarm in their support for centralism and Czechoslovakism and tried to advance Slovakia's interests under the guise of "silent revision of centralism" or "regionalism." Nevertheless, the authors believe that by failing to distance themselves effectively from Prague and to solve Slovakia's economic problems, the centralist parties drove many Slovaks into the camp of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (HSPP or L'udáks).

The authors do not condemn the HSPP for its autonomist program and political opposition, but rather for "catering to the reactionary classes" at home and seeking ties with Czechoslovakia's enemies abroad. In their Marxist interpretation, the authors see the HSPP as the representative of those bourgeois elements that were dissatisfied with their political and economic position in Czechoslovakia. The fact that the HSPP had broad popular appeal

cutting across class boundaries is explained by the party's ability to exploit Slovakia's economic ills and national discontent demagogically in order to win votes. Although the authors condemn the HSPP's leadership, they are more lenient toward its rank-and-file, whom they characterize as justly disaffected by the social and national situation in Slovakia but misled by L'udák propaganda.

If the L'udáks were too reactionary to solve the Slovak Question, and the centralist parties too reformist and "Czechoslovak," the Communist Party alone, according to this work, possessed the correct formula. In the authors' interpretation, the Communist Party was committed both to the distinctiveness of the Slovak nation and the integrity of the Czechoslovak state, which, after a socialist revolution and installation of a dictatorship of the proletariat, was to be set up on the basis of national equality and mutual respect between the Czech and Slovak nations. The party did not hold this position consistently from 1918 to 1945, but did take this stance during the Slovak National Uprising. The book depicts, although somewhat opaquely, the shifts in the party's nationality policy in the period under discussion and presents the party's position during the Uprising not as a mere tactical move but rather as the culmination of twenty-five years of Communist thinking and experience regarding the Slovak Question.

Although the portrayal of the Communist Party in this volume is overwhelmingly positive, there is some criticism, especially of party centralism. The authors clearly side with those Slovak Communists, above all the Davists, who preferred a party that was more responsive to Slovak conditions to one that rigidly applied directives from the leadership in Prague. While centralism and "dogmatism" may be reproached, however, the authors never question the Communist Party's fundamental goals.

The second part of this work deals with the Slovak state and World War II. This period is presented dichotomously. On the negative side is the Slovak state. Although the authors deem it "an acceptable alternative for the majority of the Slovak population in 1939-1941 from the constitutional point of view," they portray its L'udák leaders as fascists and opportunists, tools of German imperialism who tried but ultimately failed to win over the

Slovak population via social demagoguery and exaggerated nationalism. On the positive side is the Slovak resistance movement, manifested above all in the Slovak National Uprising. According to the authors, the Uprising represented the progressive majority of the Slovak population. They claim that the Uprising was never defeated politically or militarily, but rather won out as the first stage of a democratic and national revolution in Slovakia. Although the authors acknowledge the role played by non-Communists in the Slovak resistance, they repeatedly assert that Communist influence was paramount. The party gets credit for successfully helping bring down the L'udák regime while at the same time resisting efforts of the Beneš government in London to restore the pre-Munich Republic on its old sociopolitical bases. Not surprisingly, the authors also credit the Soviet Union with greatly assisting the Uprising.

The authors have considerable sympathy for the self-determination of the Slovak nation, as their condemnation of centralism and Czechoslovakism attests. However, when this sympathy comes into conflict with their orthodox Marxist-Leninst line, the latter wins out. For example, the occupation of Slovakia by Béla Kun's army in 1919 is portrayed as a totally positive event for the Slovak population, and any suggestions that they may have constituted a restoration of Hungarian rule over the Slovaks are dismissed as myth.

To the volume's credit, it provides an informative survey of social and economic developments in Slovakia. In addition, it devotes much attention to cultural history, including discussions of the growth of Slovak education, literature, art, and even film and radio. It also treats the cultural affairs of Slovakia's German, Magyar, and Ukrainian minorities. On the debit side, there is very little biographical information offered regarding the key figures in Slovak political life, the subchapters on diplomatic developments are completely and unequivocally pro-Soviet, and several important Western publications are absent from the relatively lengthly bibliography.

As a comprehensive survey of some of the most crucial years in Slovak history, this installment of *Dejiny Slovenska* should interest all scholars of twentieth-century Slovak history. Not only

is it a source of much information, but it also presents the most up-to-date official view on controversial issues such as the Slovak Question, the Slovak state, and the Slovak National Uprising.

Yeshayahu A. Jelinek. *The Lust for Power: Nationalism, Slovakia, and the Communists, 1918-1948.* "East European Monographs, No. CXXX." Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1983. xi, 185 pp. Distributed by Columbia University Press.

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Students of Slovak history are greatly indebted to Yeshayahu Jelinek for his painstaking dissection of the response of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) to "the Slovak Question" during the 1918-1948 period. Jelinek trudges admirably through the bewildering zigs and zags and general confusion of Communist nationality policies during the First, Second, and Third Czechoslovak Republics and the wartime Slovak Republic. It is well known that the political tasks of Czechoslovak Communism have often been complicated by the subjection of the KSČ to Soviet supervision and interference. Slovak Communists faced an even tougher road in their efforts to expand their base of popular support within Slovakia, in part because their mentors in Prague were even more overbearing and less sensitive to Slovak national aspirations than were the Soviets. Czech Communist leaders tended to view Slovak nationalism as either an obstacle or a vehicle to their achievement of power in Prague, depending on the moment. Their lack of understanding or respect for Slovak feelings was, of course, typical of Czech politicians of almost all ideological stripes.

Not that Slovak Communists possessed any clear idea of how to handle the national question. Pulled in different directions by nationalist feelings and a desire to win popular support on the one hand, and by loyalty to the KSČ and Moscow on the other, they adopted an array of "solutions" which were, as Jelinek notes, testimony to the failure of Communist ideology to address effec-

tively the nationalist phenomenon. Different Slovak Communist spokesmen variously proposed the creation of a Slovak-Hungarian Soviet Republic, incorporation of Slovakia into the Soviet Union, complete independence, autonomous federative status within a unified Czechoslovakia, equality without autonomy, and extreme centralization under Prague's control. Jelinek's discussion provides essential background reading to Czech-Slovak tensions since 1948, including the tragic persecution of Slovak Communists during the 1950s and the renewal of Slovak demands for genuine federalism during the 1960s. Nationalism has been a powerful force in Slovak Communism throughout the history of Czechoslovakia, and there is little reason to believe that the current quasi-federal formula will permanently sweep the issue of Slovak-Czech relations under the rug.

Despite Jelinek's yeoman service in delineating these matters, the book contains a number of typographical and some factual errors that should have been caught by the editor. Rudolf Slánský, for example, is twice identified as "Josef Slánský" (pp. 36, 72); and Viliam Široký seems to be identified as a Czech — the language is ambiguous — on p. 40, although later on he is characterized correctly as a Magyarized Slovak.

On a more general level, this reviewer has two criticisms, one minor and one major. The period and events described by Jelinek are so complex that he could have helped the reader by more often stepping back to address the confusion and reorder the facts in summary form. Whenever such a broad overview is absent, the narrative unavoidably gets bogged down in the myraid of individuals, factions, and endless changes in party line that defined Communist nationality policies during the thirty years in question. When the author chooses to summarize, as in his excellent passage on the war years (pp. 40-41) and in his fine concluding chapter, the reader is greatly enlightened.

More serious is Jelinek's tendency to lump all Communists together in his insistence that they regard nationalism as "a mere tool to achieve [power]" (p. 1). This is the author's major thesis, but his book's evidence suggests rather that many Communists were confused about the Slovak issue and failed to reach a consensus about nationality policies. While Czech centralizers were

inclined to be cynical or fearful of Slovak nationalism, many Slovaks were genuine nationalists who took considerable risks to advocate their people's cause. Jelinek explicitly recognizes this fact on several occasions, as in his fascinating discussion of Communist cooperation with the rightwing L'udáks, and in his description of the Slovak National Uprising, neither of which can be regarded as a mere power tactic. The author's general thesis, therefore, is at odds with his narrative. Nonetheless, this book is a valuable and original contribution to the study of Slovak Communism.

M. Mark Stolarik. *Growing Up on the South Side: Three Generations of Slovaks in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1880-1976*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1985. 147 pp.

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In the preface to this work, M. Mark Stolarik states "that it is the responsibility of professional historians to also write the histories of particular ethnic groups *for those groups*" and warns his readers that *Growing Up on the South Side* was written "only incidentally for fellow academics" (p. 13). Indeed, his research was partially supported by funds bequeathed for the purpose of writing a history of Bethlehem Slovaks for Bethlehem Slovaks.

Growing Up on the South Side is too brief to offer an in-depth analysis of the Bethlehem Slovak population over a lengthy ninety-six-year period. Still, Stolarik touches upon important aspects of the history of that ethnic community. He relies extensively on material generated by the Slovak community: fraternal and church records and publications, newspapers, and short histories written by Slovaks. He skillfully blends these sources with oral interviews with second- and third-generation Slovaks. Stolarik overlooks, however, the newspapers *Národné noviny* and, with one minor exception, *Slovenský hlásnik*. His bibliography is somewhat dated because he does not cite relevant works, including his own, published after 1981.

Although the author does not burden his narrative with statistics, tables, or theories, he generally succeeds in achieving his objective of writing for a more general, rather than an academic audience. On several occasions, either in the narrative or footnotes, he corrects factual errors that apparently heretofore have been accepted by Bethlehem Slovaks. However, by trying to avoid becoming bogged down in scholarly analysis, Stolarik, at times, forgets his responsibility to the general public as a professional historian. Indeed, he misses opportunities to use his scholarly expertise to investigate the veracity of some popularly-held beliefs or attitudes and is not always careful to use solid evidence to support some generalizations. For example, Stolarik rather nonchalantly refers to "the Irish police" as stopping fights at Slovak weddings (p. 82). Were all the policemen in Bethlehem Irish, or were only Irish policemen sent to quiet down rowdy Slovak celebrations? Here statistics and footnotes are needed. Stolarik's nice composite picture of Slovak fraternal meetings drawn from the minutes of different lodges includes the suggestion that women disrupted meetings when they attended in their husbands' stead. This was a popular view held by Slovak males who opposed accepting females into lodges in the early twentieth century. How "often" did women actually delay meetings? Stolarik observes that secular lodges opened with the presidents warning "all in attendance to behave themselves" (p. 40). This presumably included both men and women present. Can women, then, be singled out as a particular problem? In both instances just cited, Stolarik's descriptions may be accurate, but statements by a professional historian that confirm ethnic and sexual stereotypes in the minds of a general audience require more concrete, explicit evidence.

At times, Stolarik is also confusing because his discussion is too brief. For example, he relates that several factors gave rise to a large number of Slovak lodges in Bethlehem. Some lodges were formed on the basis of geographic origins, while the membership of others, he explains, reflected social standing in the Slovak community. Does this mean that Slovaks who joined the same lodge as fellow villagers but then subsequently attained a different social status in the community switched lodges? If this was the case, it has strong implications for further exploring the emergence

of class divisions within ethnic communities. The discussion of female occupations should also be expanded and clarified. It is not clear if the second- and third-generation working women he discusses (pp. 113, 115-17) were married or single. Did married women routinely work outside of the home? Such clarifications would have enhanced his discussion of the acculturation process among American-Slovaks. Also, since formal affiliation of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church (founded in 1902) with the Missouri Synod did not occur until 1908, Stolarik's passing reference to 1902 as the date when Slovak Lutherans affiliated with that conservative body can create confusion. Finally, some Bethlehem Slovaks as well as scholars will surely disagree with some of Stolarik's generalizations about the Slovak experience in general and the Bethlehem experience in particular.

Although Stolarik was concerned primarily with writing a history for Bethlehem Slovaks, his work does touch on issues of interest to professional scholars. His discussions of politics and social mobility support those scholars who suggest that social mobility in America can be gauged on different levels. While some Slovaks did not achieve social prominence in American society, they did achieve such prominence *within* their own ethnic community. His analysis of politics offers some insight into how immigrants dealt with, adjusted to, and influenced America's political structure.

Overall, the author remains faithful to his objective of writing a history for Bethlehem Slovaks. In doing so, he avoids the trappings of filiopietism often evident in such ethnic histories. While careful not to offend their descendants, Stolarik, on occasion, provides critical judgments of individuals. Additionally, while he clearly regrets the ongoing demise of Slovak culture and the waning of ethnic identity that has taken place among Bethlehem Slovaks, he does not reduce his study to one of "Slovak contributions" and a celebration of Slovak culture in a propagandistic effort to stir ethnocentrism among second- and third-generation Slovaks. Thus, while scholars will likely agree with Stolarik's own assessment that "traditional concerns of historians" generally remain beyond the scope of *Growing Up on the South Side*, Bethlehem Slovaks will find that Stolarik has done what he set out to do: write a readable English-language history for them.

Ferenc Féher and Ágnes Heller *Hungary 1956 Revisited: The Message of a Revolution — A Quarter of a Century After*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983. xviii, 174 pp.

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The authors of this book left Hungary in 1977. Since then they have published a remarkable series of books, especially (together with George Márkus) *Dictatorship over Needs: A Study of Soviet Societies*, also in 1983. The present volume is a well written and passionately argued attempt to interpret the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 from a leftist and socialist radical point of view.

The authors' thesis on the revolution is divided into two parts: its impact on the world, and on Hungary. There is hardly any doubt that the revolution was felt all over the world. Equally correct is the writers' conviction that because no substantial help was offered to the revolutionaries from the West, "the result was a major loss of face for the Western powers, a second moral Munich" (p. 15). More questionable is their often repeated affirmation that the Hungarians rebelled equally against the Soviets as against the West, because during World War II the latter allowed Central and Eastern Europe to be incorporated into the Soviet sphere of influence. Only István Bibó and his "Draft of a compromise solution of the Hungarian question" can be quoted in support of such a surprising assertion. Sure enough, most Central and East Europeans did not *like* the overwhelming Soviets interest and the shocking Western *lack of interest* in their fate and territories, but it is stretching the point to claim that "the Hungarian revolution was a revolt against *all* signatories of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements" (p. 16). Fehér and Heller are on safer grounds when they assert that in 1956 the Americans lost a great opportunity by not offering to the Soviets a compromise by which Hungary would have been granted neutrality and the Soviet Union an end to the Cold War. The Soviet leaders were for a few crucial days divided about how to deal with the crisis, and the authors believe that the Soviets would have considered such an offer.

There follows a good discussion of "national communism," and in this context Yugoslav leaders are blamed for their opportunist attitude toward the Hungarian revolution. Western Communist parties lost many members, fellow-travellers, and prestige in the process: "The events of October 1956 [sounded] the death-knell of the Popular Front policy" (p. 44). In their review of other East European Communist parties' reaction to the revolution, the writers express their support for "the idea of a confederation between the free nations of the region" (p. 62).

In the second part of the book the authors stress the lack of democratic and liberal traditions in their native country. Several times they point out that only in Czechoslovakia was there a successful marriage of nationalism with such progressive tendencies. Although they believe that after both the First and Second World Wars Hungary was treated too harshly by the victors, they contend that only during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a democratic, liberal, and socialist model being created in their country. One of the major points of the message should be seen in that historical development. Ferenc Fehér and Agnes Heller would also like their readers to believe that after a long series of failed heroes of Hungarian history Imre Nagy should be accepted as a genuine hero, "forger, arbiter, martyr and symbol of a murdered revolution" (pp. 157-8).

What fascinated this reviewers most was the obvious learning process experienced by extreme leftist radicals about the real substance of Soviet Communism and of its betrayal of the working people. The authors castigate not only Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin, but also Deutscher and Sartre, among others, for trusting professional revolutionaries and manipulators more than the masses. From the authors' arguments it is also clear that they themselves had to be transformed from typical radical intellectuals' positions of misuse of the wage earners to admiration for their democratic and pluralist hopes. They admit that only several years after the revolution were some of the wishes and actions of the Hungarian people understood and accepted by them (e.g., p. 92).

The last pages of the volume are devoted to an excellent analysis of Kádárism and of the modernized sophisticated terror which is also well known in Czechoslovakia.

Slovak readers will find occasional reference to Hungarian "bereft territories" (p. 149) and of the Hungarians expelled from Slovakia (pp. 50-51). They might wonder who are the "Slovakians" (p. 51). Of much greater interest is the insight into the way leftist radical socialists inside of Hungary view the past and the future and what can be expected from them and their nation.

Jozef Ciger-Hronský. *Jozef Mak*. Translated by Andrew Činčura.
Afterword by Peter Petro. Columbus: Slavica, 1984. 232 pp.

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This volume is the first in a series of works of Slovak literature slated to be published by Slavica Publishers in Columbus, Ohio. Currently projected for publication are volumes by Hugolín Gavlovič and Božena Timrava, as well as a volume of folk ballads. The project represents a notable break-through for the cause of Slovak literature in translation in this country.

Jozef Ciger (1894-1960), who published under the pseudonym of Hronský, is one of the great writers of Modern Slovak Literature, one comparatively neglected, presumably for ideological reasons. A village school teacher, Hronský knew the Slovak peasants as perhaps no other Slovak writer did; in particular, he understood the mysticism of the peasantry and portrayed it in his works. During World War II he supported the nationalistic Tiso regime, and in 1945 emigrated to Argentina. Under the new Czechoslovak republic he was never mentioned, not to say published, along with a number of other nationalist writers. In 1970 his contemporary, the critic Alexander Matuška, published a monograph devoted to him.

Jozef Mak was published in 1933. It is a novel of the Slovak village in the period of Hungarian oppression and the time of emigration to America. Maryarization and Emigration are portrayed as twin perils and twin temptations, for both seem to pro-

mise political or economic salvation to the poverty-ridden peasantry.

The novel represents a unique blend of realism and symbolism, one hardly to be found among contemporary Czech writers, for instance, or even among other Slovak writers. Those aspects of the novel that pertain to individual characters and their fates are more symbolic, while the public and social facets of the story are realistic. The first are richer in metaphors, certainly while the latter are richer in metonyms. The blending of the two strains gave the author considerable difficulty, and it is the private, symbolic novel that is more memorable for the reader.

The term "symbolic" is customarily used for fiction in the style of *Jozef Mak*, but the novel is actually as much mythic as symbolic. (Of course the two styles are closely interrelated.) The leading characters are archetypes who draw much of their being from an idealized metaphorical world close to folklore. *Jozef Mak* himself is an image of the alienated orphan, denied his inheritance, material as well as spiritual. The novel ends without his having found himself or his true destiny.

Jozef Mak is born the illegitimate son of a poor peasant woman, to be ousted from the house and land by his worthless older, legitimate half brother. Still he grows up honest, hard working, and resourceful. He finally marries a crippled woman whom he seduces, a wife who provides a spiritual guide for him throughout his married life. But, exhausted from the weight of burdens, physical and spiritual, his wife *Jula* dies. *Jozef* is left alone at the end of the novel to endure and to plot his path through life alone.

The wife *Jula* is certainly one of the great characters in Slovak literature. Her piety and meekness, and her endurance of her husband's deceptions, are entirely believable, as is the aura of spiritual beauty (in spite of physical deformity) with which the author invests her. The author's conception of such a character required great artistic imagination; *Mak* himself is hardly so successful. Perhaps his position as central character (and also as perceiving subject) in so much of the novel has precluded the writer from developing a firm, coherent image of him.

Less sharp are the characters involved, positively or negative-

ly, in their nation's political struggle, and it is evident that Hronský had difficulties with the realistic side of the novel, partly because the struggle in question corresponds to the time of his boyhood, when he hardly could have succeeded in grasping its meaning. Thus the mythic, symbolic, mystical side of the novel is the stronger, and makes a powerful nostalgic imprint on the reader.

Pavol Števček. *Contemporary Slovak Literature*. Translated by Ol'ga Horská. Bratislava: Obzor, 1980. 122 pp.

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Contemporary Slovak literature is often an unfamiliar area even to Slavic literary specialists, whereas writings of contemporary Czech authors from the same country are internationally known. Perhaps it is true, as one Slovak specialist in North America has stated, that Slovak literature is a Cinderella among the literatures of Europe that awaits the discovery of her true worth. The study under review is an attempt to dispel some of this unfamiliarity for an English-reading audience.

In this book Števček discusses twenty-three writers of the post-1945 era. Twenty-one men are presented as poets and writers of prose and children's literature, but only two women are discussed and that in the area of children's literature. Among the poets are Pavol Horov, Ján Kostra, Ladislav Novomeský, Milan Rúfus, Ján Smrek, and Miroslav Válek; among the prose writers are Alfonz Bednár, Peter Jaroš, Vladimír Mináč, Vincent Šikula, and František Švantner. The first of six chapters sets the context for appreciating the work of these writers. In describing the development of this modern era in literature Števček employs a Marxist interpretation and even discusses briefly the features of literature written according to such a viewpoint. (The English here is rather stilted and contrived; if the translation is at fault, it is probably because it is a literal rendition of the author's diction and style, which in Slovak may be appropriate for such a work but becomes at times opaque in English translation.) In the remaining five

chapters, Števček considers respectively writers of poetry, prose, children's literature, drama, and literary studies and theoretical presentations. At the end of the chapters on poetry and prose, the author presents brief commentary on a number of other such contemporary writers in order to round out the presentation for these areas.

In the chapter on poetry Števček fails to include Maša Hal'amová. Why? Does not a poet who was at the time of this study an "Artist of Merit" deserve mention? (At the present time, she holds the title "National Artist.") This is a significant omission, especially as consideration of Hal'amová would also have increased the number of women presented. In the chapter on children's literature Števček includes two women, one of whom, Klára Jarunková, could just as well have been discussed in the prose chapter. Indeed, she could have been included in both chapters. Likewise, L'ubomír Feldek should have been discussed for more than his contribution to children's literature. Some commentary on or at least mention of L'udo Zúbek and Dominik Tatarka would also have been quite justified. Such additions to this study would certainly not have increased its size by much, and yet would have definitely enhanced its benefit to Slavic scholars and anyone interested in Slovak literature.

Contemporary Slovak Literature is a noteworthy contribution from Slovakia that provides some basic information on a large number of writers. Such a publication in English is crucial if Slovak literature is to be able to assume its proper place in modern world literature. Given the paucity of such publications, this study should be helpful not only to specialists but also libraries. Given also the excellent literary specialists now writing in Slovakia, more such publications as the one above, with style and English rendition improved, should be rightly expected and published in the future.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH STASKO (Ph.D., Comenius University; MLS Columbia), is an émigré Slovak politician and retired librarian. While pursuing post-graduate studies in Paris in 1939 he became a friend of Czechoslovak Ambassador Štefan Osuský and tried to get the Slovak government to establish contacts with him, as Stasko reminisces in this issue of *Slovakia*. While he avoided politics during the existence of the Slovak State, Stasko did join the post-war Democratic Party and won election to the Prague Parliament from his native Orava in May of 1946. However, because he was an uncompromising autonomist who made it clear that he would not vote for Edvard Beneš as the post-war President of Czechoslovakia, the Democratic Party turned its back on him and allowed the "people's" courts to try him on trumped-up charges. From 1946 to 1953 he was imprisoned in Leopoldov and in the Jachymov uranium mines where, ironically, he came to know such right-wing Slovak politicians as Šaňo Mach and Communist luminaries like Gustáv Husák. From 1953 to 1961 he worked as a manual laborer in various factories and then managed to escape to the West. After he received his degree in library science from Columbia University, he found employment at the New York Public Library. He became Chief of the Periodicals Department and retired in that capacity in 1983. Since then he has been collecting Slovak-American archival materials and writing his memoirs.

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